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The Shape of Things

HITLER'S PROMISE THAT THE LESSONS learned last year would make it possible for the Nazi armies to withstand a second winter campaign in Russia at far less cost failed to allow for the fact that the Red Army had learned some lessons too. And up to date it has applied them far more profitably than its opponents. Moreover, the Russians seem better prepared than their foes to take advantage of the comparatively open weather this winter. They have found it possible to move more heavy equipment forward and are thus able to tackle the German "hedgehogs" with a heavier concentration of fire. Last winter only one of these strongly fortified points—Mozhaisk—was taken; this year the past week alone has seen the capture of Velikie Luki, Kotelnikov, Elista, Mozdok, and Chernishkovskaya, all important strategic and supply centers. The first of these towns was one of the main anchors of the German line on the north central front, and its fall has enabled the Red Army to cut the vital north-south railroad connecting Leningrad with Kiev and the Black Sea. An equally heavy blow was sustained by the Germans in the loss of Mozdok, which has ended their hope of seizing the Grozny oil fields.

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THE STATE DEPARTMENT'S WHITE BOOK IS aptly named since it is obviously an attempt to whitewash the department's record and clear it of responsibility for the grave errors in American foreign policy in the decade between September 18, 1931, and December 7, 1941. The document itself will bear careful study, and we plan to comment on it in detail in a later issue. On the basis of advance news releases, it would seem to be largely taken up with a recital of known facts regarding the aggressive intentions of the Axis governments during this decade and our efforts to dissuade them from their avowed policies. In the case of Japan particularly it is clear that deceit was an integral part of the aggressor's strategy. But the State Department insists that it was never deceived for a moment. As early as 1934 Ambassador Grew warned Washington that in dealing with Japan we would be "reprehensibly somnolent" if we were to trust to the security of treaty restraints. About the same time Ambassador Long began to report on the aggressive intentions of Italy, though he was to take the lead in

opposing sanctions against that country, and George Messersmith gave warning of the militaristic designs of Adolf Hitler. On January 27, 1941, Grew warned of a possible surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. Yet the White Book itself tells how we continued to supply Japan with oil. The theory was that if we suspended such shipments, Japan would attack the Dutch East Indies and take all the oil it wanted. Ultimately we did suspend trade and Japan did attack. But it was our own fleet and our own territory that bore the brunt of the first onslaught—and the destruction was wrought largely with the metal and oil with which we had for so long attempted to buy off the blackmailer.

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THE ENLARGED REPUBLICAN DELEGATION on Capitol Hill has let it be known through its journalistic mouthpieces that it hopes to use the Seventy-eighth Congress as a springboard to victory in 1944. There are also widespread reports that the G. O. P. leadership expects most of the dangerous in-fighting to be done for it by anti-New Deal Democratic commandos, who, according to a commentator in the *Wall Street Journal*, are in such a state of rage with the Administration that they are prepared to tear their party to pieces in order to "get" Roosevelt. "The next Congress," to quote this writer, "will be the first one since 1919-21 to contain a bi-partisan bloc devoted to the defeat of the President of the United States. . . . What do the 1943 irreconcilables want? Generally they want less of everything Mr. Roosevelt stands for. Their outstanding specific characteristic is that, compared with the Roosevelt Administration, they are inflationists." This bloc, which includes many Western Congressmen of both parties as well as some Southern Democrats, can be counted upon to fight bitterly against all measures of inflation control. Its success, however, will depend on how far it can gain support from the official Republican leadership and from the conservative Democrats of the Senator Byrd type. Will the party of McKinley desert its hard-money traditions to give encouragement to the new Bryanists? Will the Southern economizers, straining at the gnat of a few millions saved on civilian agencies, swallow the camel of billions added to war costs through inflation? The inconsistencies of a bi-partisan opposition, whose only common denominator is hatred of the President, would be amusing to watch under normal conditions. But with our eyes glued to the many distant fronts where we and our allies are fighting for our lives, we cannot anticipate with relish the ganging up of Congress reactionaries.

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LAST WEEK'S TESTIMONIAL DINNER TO Senator George W. Norris was unique. What started out as a well-deserved tribute to a great man spontaneously turned itself into a plea for leadership in American liberalism's coming test of strength. Tendered by this journal

and the Union for Democratic Action, the affair attracted a potent array of speakers, ranging from the Mayor of New York to the head of the National Farmers Union, by way of Eleanor Roosevelt, the Supreme Court, Congress, and the leaders of organized labor. With few exceptions, they turned from honoring Norris to pleading with him to pick up the gauntlet hurled down by forces of reaction grown bold with their victories of last November. To all the speakers it was clear that the vote of 1944 may not only undo much of the work of the New Deal; it may rob the United Nations of the fruits of victory, just as Harding "normalcy" robbed the world in 1920. Safety, they understood, lies not in the Democratic Party or the Republican, but only in the strength of American liberalism so organized as to be readily available to progressive candidates of any party. Limited resources have hampered the Union for Democratic Action in precisely this kind of work, and it has persevered against the greatest odds. There is real hope now that its pioneering days are over, that backed by the might of farmers and industrial workers, the progressive force of the country is ready to assert itself at a moment when its potential strength is as sorely needed as it has ever been in our history.

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THE YUGOSLAV CABINET CRISIS OVER THE two linked problems of civil war and relations with the Soviet Union has been solved for the time being. The constitution of the new Yovanovich government in London, however, is by no means a guaranty that difficulties will be overcome. Nincich, the anti-Soviet reactionary, who last summer wilfully failed to come to an agreement with Molotov when the latter was in London, is out as Foreign Minister. His portfolio has been taken by the conservative Prime Minister. General Mihailovich continues as Minister of War. While at least five of the old opposition group have been included, several proved liberals have been dropped, notably those who had taken a balanced view of Soviet relations. Meanwhile the new Constituent Assembly, meeting on Yugoslav soil, has become a reality. A severe test of statesmanship therefore confronts the new Cabinet. Very clearly it must make contact with the popular movement at home. And that means that the partisans must be given full recognition and support.

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THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE CHINESE military mission in Washington has called attention once again to the shameful treatment accorded China since this country's entry into the war. Little or nothing has been done to remedy the grave situation reported by Mr. Willkie on his return from China some months ago. There are still but a few dozen American planes in the whole of China; virtually no modern war equipment of any description has been provided which would enable the Chinese to take the offensive against Japan. Doubtless

our War and Navy officials have excellent excuses to offer as to why this aid has not been sent. But there can be no excuse for the way in which the Chinese military mission has been ignored in the planning of United Nations strategy at Washington. It may be argued that the Chinese are wrong in their insistence that the best way to defeat Japan is by means of an attack from the Asiatic mainland, but Washington's failure to listen to the pleas of our Far Eastern ally is indefensible. General Hsiung Shih-fei, head of the mission, has indicated that he may return to this country after he has reported to Chiang Kai-shek. It is to be hoped that by that time we shall have awakened to China's great potential contribution to the struggle against Japan.

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WITH THE CAPTURE OF BUNA MISSION THE United Nations have successfully completed the most difficult part of their first land offensive against the Japanese. Only the small force of Japanese pocketed on Sanananda Point remains on the Papuan peninsula of New Guinea. In assessing the Buna campaign it must be remembered that it was essentially defensive in character. It started several months ago as an effort to check a Japanese attack on Port Moresby and was pressed primarily as a means of removing all possible threat to that base. The vast amount of time and effort required to clear the Japanese out of Buna, Buna Mission, and Gona should be adequate proof of the folly of a drive northward, island by island, from Australia. But the clearing of the Solomons and New Guinea is important for safeguarding our supply route to Australia and India, and thus should facilitate an attack on Burma and Indo-China. A possible alternative line of attack was opened up by the devastating air raid on Wake Island made by American planes on Christmas Eve. Recapture of Wake, shown to be by no means an impossibility, might be the first step of a westward drive across the Pacific directed either against Japan or the Philippines.

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GREAT BRITAIN'S REBUKE TO ARGENTINA for attempting to play Britain against the United States has placed the Castillo government in an awkward position. In accordance with the suggestion of Axis propaganda broadcasts, the Argentine *Foreign Information Bulletin* reproduced on December 25 an article praising Argentina which had originally appeared in the *South American Journal* in London. This, of course, fitted nicely with the Axis thesis that Britain and the United States are at odds with respect to their Latin American policies. It also seemed to give moral sanction to Castillo's neutrality policy. Unfortunately for Castillo, the British seized upon the occasion to point out that the *South American Journal* article in no way reflected the official British attitude, and added that it deplored

the policy of Argentina in continuing diplomatic relations with "the enemies of humanity." The British note is not likely to have any direct effect on the policies of the Castillo regime, but it should help bring home to the Argentine people the extent to which their government is consciously playing the game according to Axis rules.

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"UNCLE ROBERT'S" RADIO CAMPAIGN TO eliminate the word "kindergarten" from American use because it is German in origin is so silly that it is hardly worth mentioning—except that it is said to be winning nation-wide support from "newspapers and individuals in almost every field of endeavor." What's more, a prize for the best substitute is to be awarded at ceremonies to be held on the steps of the Subtreasury in New York. In support of his crusade, Uncle Robert tells the pathetic story of a child who embarrassed her teacher by asking why her brother was fighting the Germans while she had to go to a school named by Germans. Children of pre-school age do not ask such smug questions unless they are overstimulated by grown-up adolescents. So far we have been spared the anti-German hysteria which during the last war denied us the music of Beethoven. We doubt whether Uncle Robert will get very far with his ridiculous campaign, even with children of pre-school age; but at the drop of a hat we'd join a counter-campaign to provide a substitute for radio uncles.

No Unity with Fascists

THERE is no development *The Nation* would welcome more warmly than the achievement of real unity among Frenchmen, and we agree that all purely personal obstacles to such unity ought to be swept aside. We hope that reports of a forthcoming meeting between Generals de Gaulle and Giraud are well founded, for we cannot doubt that they see eye to eye on the main point—unflinching opposition to the Axis. On the other hand, if they are required to cooperate on the basis of continuance in power of the North African Vichyites, whom every Fighting Frenchman regards as traitors to France, it is difficult to see how any agreement can be reached.

Dangerous as existing divisions are, sham unity would hold even greater perils especially if it were enforced with a club. Yet that is the policy of the State Department if Arthur Krock interprets its mind as accurately as he has often done before. "It is believed by some officials here," Mr. Krock wrote in the *New York Times* of January 3 under a Washington date line, "that the United States and Great Britain may be obliged to warn the anti-Axis French leaders that, unless they can settle their differences over procedure and achieve unity in military effort, it may become necessary for the United Nations

to break the chain of French sovereignty with a formal military occupation of North Africa and West Africa, thus stimulating a post-war native irredentist movement and clouding the legal claims of France to this vast area."

The theory underlying this threat is that Darlan derived his powers from a legitimate source of authority—the Vichy government—and that the Imperial Council has legally inherited them. So long as this properly constituted authority is maintained, no question of the rightfulness of French claims to its African territories can be raised. If, however, the argument runs, this authority lapses and the United States is forced to set up a military government in North and West Africa, then, under the terms of the Atlantic Charter, the native inhabitants would be in a position to raise the question of self-determination.

As Waverly Root pointed out in a broadcast over WINS on January 3, this method of prodding the French into "unity" is strangely similar in smell to that employed at Munich by Chamberlain and Daladier. Moreover, the legalistic line of approach in Mr. Krock's article raises the questions: (a) Was the Vichy government ever a legitimate one? (b) Even if it was, were its powers properly transferred to Darlan and the Imperial Council? With regard to the second of these questions, a dispatch from North Africa in the *New York Times* of December 31 reports that "as long ago as November 24 the three presidents of the Councils General of Constantine, Algiers, and Morocco . . . wrote to Admiral Darlan asserting that his government had no legal basis. They maintained that under the French Constitution of 1875 only a meeting of the three Councils General could provide the necessary legal authority. Admiral Darlan did not reply." Are we to have the same contempt for the laws of the democratic French Republic to whose restoration we are pledged?

If final decisions on the form the provisional civil government of North Africa should take are really being left to General Eisenhower, he is being loaded with a burden no commander in the field should be asked to assume. The solution that is found for the problem will have a significance for a far wider area—for all the French colonies and, indeed, for all other countries where Quislings may in future seek safety in American arms. Matters of this nature are the common concern of all the United Nations, and there ought to be an inter-allied council of the kind Mr. Willkie has advocated, to which they could be referred. Otherwise they will tend to be settled on terms of immediate military expediency, and while dividends may be earned on this basis in the short run, the end is likely to prove moral and political bankruptcy.

In a dispatch to the *World-Telegram* of January 4, Ernie Pyle, an excellent reporter who has never been given to taking a political line, suggests that even the

short-term merits of our appeasement policy in North Africa are dubious.

We have left in office [he writes] most of the small-fry officials put there by the Germans before we came. We are permitting fascist societies to continue to exist. Actual sniping has been stopped, but there is still sabotage. The loyal French see this and wonder what manner of people we are. They are used to force and expect us to use it against the common enemy, which includes the French fascists. Our enemies see it, laugh, and call us soft. . . . There are an astonishing number of Axis sympathizers among the French in North Africa. Not a majority of course but more than you would imagine. This in itself is a great puzzle to me.

What is an even greater puzzle to us is that anyone in our government should be willing to trust such people and should condemn General de Gaulle as stiff-necked because he is not equally willing to do so.

Investigate Dies!

A MODERN Rip Van Winkle would gather from the latest report of the Dies committee that we were allied with the Axis against the Soviet Union. Most of the committee's emphasis, as usual, is on the supposed menace to our institutions from the left. Fourteen and a half pages of the new report are devoted to "subversive" organizations and individuals. The division of space among them is significant. Eleven pages are given to alleged Communists and leftists, two pages to the Japanese, one page to "the Axis front," and a half-page to anti-Semitism. In the committee's weird scale of values, anti-Semitism, favorite Axis device for creating disunity, gets no more space than the Union for Democratic Action and a good deal less attention. All the committee can report on anti-Semitism is that it's dangerous—a conclusion reached at executive sessions held last January. The committee puts its finger on no anti-Semites, makes no recommendations. The membership lists and mailing lists of anti-Semitic organizations are not subpoenaed; no effort is made to purge *them* from government pay rolls. That treatment is reserved for anti-fascists of many varieties, all lumped together as "Communist."

The inability of the Dies committee to get up much enthusiasm about investigating fascists is made even clearer in the minority report of Representative Jerry Voorhis, the first to be filed since the committee was organized. Mr. Voorhis protests that the committee's chief function ought surely to be to help the American people identify the propaganda and propagandists of "enemy nations." Instead, the report has a single page of vague generalities and stale material dealing with the "Axis front." "It is true," Congressman Voorhis says, "that within the past couple of months considerable work has been done, at the request of the chairman, by myself

and members of the committee staff on a report on organizations and individuals carrying on propaganda and other activities favorable to the Axis cause and the Axis philosophy of government. *That report has not been approved by the committee, and there appears to be some doubt even that it will be approved.*" According to Voorhis, material on Axis activities in this country has been in the committee's files "for months, and such a report should have been issued long ago."

It is not strange to learn that Dies handles his own committee in dictatorial fashion. Congressman Voorhis complains that much of the material issued by the committee on alleged Communist affiliations "deals not with matters upon which there was any action whatsoever, but only individual action taken by the chairman." While Dies smears Attorney General Biddle, Voorhis points out that the 1,124 "Communists" supposedly on the government pay roll are merely persons found on the mailing lists of certain supposed "Communist-front" organizations, one of them a cooperative bookshop. Being on a mailing list does not constitute membership, and in some cases, according to Voorhis, people were on these mailing lists without their knowledge, let alone their permission.

Voorhis declares that he is not surprised that the Department of Justice found no evidence of "subversive" activity on the part of any but a very small fraction of the people listed. Some of these errors might have been avoided if there had been full discussion of the report by Dies with his committee members. But according to Voorhis no meeting of the committee was ever held to discuss the report. It was presented by Dies on a "take-it-or-leave-it" basis. Dies has no desire to avoid the slanderous "errors" that crop up constantly in his reports. He is out to discredit liberals, not to fight the Axis. How much longer are we going to allow his truly subversive activities to continue?

Mr. Babbitt Explains

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

AMERICANS aren't narrow-minded. In peace times you won't find anybody more ready to admit that foreigners are perfectly O.K. Why, Americans *like* foreigners in Europe and Mexico and such places. They don't talk our language and their money doesn't do you much good, but when you're in those countries you take it like you do the scenery—it's just something different. Americans maybe joke about Europe being full of foreigners, but they don't mean anything by it. We all had to come from somewhere, didn't we?

But what's getting a lot of Americans pretty sick and tired these days is the way foreigners want to mix in our

war. Remember some guy said somewhere this was going to be the American Century? Sure it is. But that's not all. The way I figure it, if we're going to do the fighting and feed the whole world afterward, it's got to be an American war, too. That makes sense, doesn't it? Come to think about it, the President couldn't do much better for that name he was looking for: the American War. Anything wrong with that?

Well, to go back to the foreigners. More and more a lot of Americans are beginning to see that if this war is going to be fought right and won right and the American Century is going to get off on the right foot, we'll have to do it our way. Take North Africa. Fact is, we *have* taken it, haven't we? Or the better part of it. We made a deal with that Frenchman Darlan to let him help run things there in Africa in return for him telling the French soldiers to lay off our men; and we told General Giraud to go ahead and build up an army to fight alongside our army. We do all that and what happens? A lot of other Frenchmen start crabbing about this Darlan having sold out to Hitler and one thing and another. Well, so what? He sold out to us last, didn't he?

Next thing one of these other Frenchmen puts Darlan on the spot. Polishes him off. That shows you, doesn't it? Those foreigners don't know law and order when they see it. Not that it queers the game any. It would take more than a few feuding Frenchmen to stop our boys. But it shows you, anyhow.

The other day I was discussing this business with a fellow—some kind of crank, a red maybe. Darlan was a bag egg, he said, and got about what was coming to him. We shouldn't of ever made a deal with him in the first place, he said. I looked at him. Listen, I said, whose war is this, anyhow? Are we going to stop to look up a guy's references when it's a question of Americans fighting a war? And anyhow, who says he's a bad egg? Some other Frenchman like this De Gaulle that wants his job. The fellow argued with me. He said the English don't like Darlan either, and anyhow he was playing along with Hitler up till we landed, so all the French people in France think he's a traitor and wouldn't of liked to see us landing there in France with Darlan in charge under us. They'd think, he said, they might get a Vichy government out of it all, and what would be the use of fighting for that.

Listen, guy, I said, when he got finished, you must of been talking to some foreigner. You know what I think? I think these French people and parties better keep out of this. Are we supposed to ask permission of all the politicians in France and England every time we land a few troops some place? The best thing those boys can do is keep their mouths shut if they don't want to come along and help. The fellow wasn't convinced. He said, well it's French territory we're landing on. Don't forget that, he said. I couldn't help laughing. And who's doing the

fighting? I asked him. Who's kicking the Nazis in the pants? The Russians, he said, and walked off.

Well, you know, the truth is all these foreigners put together can't do much harm right now. They've been stepped on and they're going to stay stepped on till we shove the Nazis out of their countries. They may get sore if we use one crowd or cold-shoulder another, but, as I always say, what can they do about it? What I sometimes get thinking about, though, is after the war, and I tell you that's the time these headaches will really come home to roost. There's a lot of talk around about restoring freedom and this and that, and I'm for it, naturally. Nobody wants Hitler parked all over Europe. This time we're going to finish the job and finish it good. But when they tell you these countries can run themselves after the war, you can know without arguing that there's nothing doing. And not only Germany. The way I see it they're all in this together. And when our army gets in there, it'll be up to us to establish law and order and some ideas of how to run the place or we'll only have the job to do over again. We tried to pull out last time, and you see what happened.

I got a Czech friend, at least he's American but he came from over there, and sometimes I think he doesn't know how happy he ought to be that he's out of that mess. Of course he's in the army and so he'll be in it again somewhere, I suppose, but at least he's a U.S. citizen wherever he is. But anyhow I said to him one time. Listen, buddy, some day you may be marching into your old country to help kick those so-and-sos out of there. That's what I live for, he said to me. And then, I said, you boys will stay in there and keep things quiet

until we get a decent government set up and have the country running right. It will be something for those people to get a square meal again, hey? Czecho-Slovakia's got a government, my friend said. Sure, I said, right under Hitler's heel. No, he said, in London. And say, do you know, I'd clean forgotten about that. The Czech government-in-exile, he said, was our ally, and it might be that they could run their own country after they got the Nazis out. That's what he said.

But take it from me, if we're going to feed those babies over there and put them back on their feet, they'll have to swallow a little American law and order along with good American chow. They'll have it our way or not at all. I guess that's reasonable. We aren't chasing Hitler out just so a lot of home-town politicians can stir up trouble. If they don't like Darlan or any other one we pick to help us keep things quiet while we feed them and do the fighting, let them write to the papers about it. If there are any papers. But I guess they better just figure that politics and revolutions are out while our boys are doing their stuff.

These days there's just two kinds of foreigners: nuisances and foreigners that do what we tell them. As far as I can figure, this fellow Darlan was one of the second kind, so he looked O. K. to me. The other kind, the ones that kick or try to get us mixed up in their political fights, well I guess we'll know how to deal with them. So far our State Department hasn't let them get in its hair. They may even learn something about American law and order before we finish with them. We didn't ask for this war, but now we're in it we're going to run it our own way, and the quicker a lot of people get used to the idea the less trouble they'll get into.

Did Hull and Welles Tell the Truth?

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, January 4
THE State Department is on the defensive in the Bolivian affair. Two weeks ago *The Nation's* Washington letter reported that the American ambassador to Bolivia had sought to prevent the enactment of a new labor code in that country. This code guarantees to Bolivian workers rights as standard as collective bargaining and as elementary as regular payment of wages. Last week this report from Bolivia was twice denied by the State Department, once by Secretary Hull at a press conference and a second time by Under Secretary Welles in a letter publicly rebuking Ernesto Galarza, Mexican-born chief of the Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan-American Union. It was Galarza who, in a letter to Welles printed for the first time in this

week's issue of *The Nation*, called the attention of the State Department to the activities of our ambassador. For his courage in defending the workers of Bolivia, Galarza is slated to pay with his job unless American labor and progressives bring pressure to bear in his behalf at the White House and the Pan-American Union. Not the least important aspect of this affair is that it shows how hazardous is the attempt to inject New Deal ideas into the actual conduct of our diplomacy.

How much are the denials of Hull and Welles worth? Not much. I have obtained a detailed paraphrase of the five-page cable sent the State Department on November 30 by our ambassador, Pierre de Lagarde Boal, from La Paz. I also have the text of the pertinent paragraphs in the reply which Secretary Hull sent him on Decem-

ber 2. These fully support Galarza's charges. According to the statement Hull issued last week, Boal "did not engage in any acts or utterances which could be construed at all as an attempt to influence the labor plans and programs that were pending in Bolivia. . . ." Boal merely "made inquiry about the effect of the proposed labor code on production costs of the strategic materials that we were securing from Bolivia." But there was "nothing in the inquiry which was not in line with his duty to report all economic facts to his government."

Boal did not simply make an inquiry as to the effect of this code on production costs. He had a long discussion with the President of Bolivia in which he made it clear that the American government was disturbed about the enactment of the code and in which he presented and supported objections raised by the mine-owners. The Bolivian President's attitude, as reported by Boal, was apologetic. The President of Bolivia, according to Boal, expressed the opinion that he could not veto the code without provoking strikes and labor agitation. The President suggested, however, that the code was provisional and that he could suspend the application of clauses most likely—in the opinion of the mine-owners and the American Embassy—to have an adverse effect. It was suggested that the code be vetoed and some of its provisions made effective by decree, but the President pointed out that this would not meet labor's objections. Decrees have a lower status than laws, are more easily evaded, and can be nullified by the Supreme Court. "This labor code," Boal explained in his cable, "is similar to the existing labor decree, which has been broadly disregarded by the large and small miners because its status as a decree made this possible." It is easy to see why the decree is preferred by the mine-owners.

Boal had another suggestion to make. In its contracts for the purchase of materials, the Board of Economic Warfare provides for better wage and working conditions. In one form of contract, it pays the entire additional cost; in another, it pays half the cost. Boal proposed that the purposes of the code be achieved through these labor clauses and that they be used as an excuse either for vetoing the code or suspending some of its provisions. The advantage to the mine-owner of providing for better working conditions in this way is obvious. He is not obliged to maintain the same wages and conditions in all his work, or after the war is over. He can collect most, if not all, of his additional costs from the United States government, and if the United States government is not too strict in its inspection and enforcement of the labor clauses, the mine-owner might also pocket extra charges made presumably for better labor conditions. The paraphrase of the cable does not indicate what comment the President of Bolivia made on this suggestion.

Boal's cable represented some special pleading in Washington as well as La Paz. It reported that the

mining operators had informed him that the enactment of the labor code would raise their expenses so much that they would have to ask increased prices from Metals Reserve, RFC subsidiary for stockpile purchases. Boal gave support to this view by saying that the Embassy had examined the code and found that it would increase administrative expenses. This plea for higher prices is interesting in the light of an item I discovered in *Pan-American Labor Notes* for last October. This Nelson Rockefeller publication revealed that Metals Reserve had already given the Bolivian mine-owners an increase in prices and that when the Bolivian Confederation of Labor heard of the increase "it presented data to the United States Embassy, and asked its help in persuading the mining firms to agree to the increase in the wages of Bolivian miners." The Boal cable of November 30 indicates that they picked a poor place for their appeal.

The Ambassador said in his cable, "Other articles [of the labor code] which appear to create important difficulties are Article 27, which requires operators to sign collective contracts, and Article 31, which prohibits utilizing the services of labor collectors and contractors." He pointed out the inconvenience of Article 53, which would require payment of wages every fifteen days. Boal said this would increase bookkeeping costs! (It would be cheaper to stop paying wages altogether.) He also objected that this article, if enforced, would encourage the miners to quit on pay day. "They are now paid tardily," he explained, "deliberately in order to maintain them on the job and to give them a stake in their next month's pay." A simpler, if less diplomatic, word for this is peonage. Boal ended by declaring it imperative that the United States government make its suggestions promptly, while there was still time, or "we will not be able in the future to protest the enforcement of the law." All this was the clearest kind of intervention in Bolivian affairs on behalf of the mine-owners.

What was the department's answer to this cable? Did it rebuke Boal? Welles said last week that on December 2 the department instructed the Ambassador "to avoid carefully any statements or actions which might be construed as an attempt to influence Bolivian legislation." That is a correct paraphrase of the first sentence of the telegram Hull sent Boal on that date. But the text of the telegram shows that this opening sentence was eyewash. For Hull went on to say:



Secretary Hull

It is, however, considered desirable that you discreetly express to the President or other appropriate authorities your government's hope and confidence that no steps will be taken which might result in the creation of situations which would inhibit the full performance of contracts made in good faith by both parties. You may refer to the fact that agencies of this government have entered into important contracts for the purchase of various strategic materials, particularly tin, tungsten, antimony, and rubber. It is, of course, patent that the uninterrupted flow of these items is essential to the optimum prosecution of the war. It is consequently hoped that no action will be taken which might jeopardize hemispheric security. Discreet reference can be made to Resolution IV of the Rio meeting on the production of strategic materials.

Resolution IV recommended that the countries of the hemisphere "eliminate or minimize administrative formalities and the regulations and restrictions which im-

pede the production and free flow of basic and strategic materials." Hull was suggesting that Boal indicate that enactment of the labor code "might jeopardize hemispheric security." The text of Hull's telegram discredits the State Department's denials.

Rarely do we ordinary mortals get so full a look under the lid of our diplomacy, which remains as secret as the State Department can make it. More is involved in this affair than the welfare of Bolivia's miserably underpaid and tubercular miners: the output of badly needed tin, tungsten, and antimony; the sincerity of our Good Neighbor policy; the extent to which we let Nazi propaganda use the issue of *Yanqui* imperialism against us. The affair raises an even broader question. If we cannot keep our diplomats in this hemisphere from serving the forces of reaction and exploitation now, how can we hope to defeat the same combination of big business and bureaucracy and build a better world when the war is over?

Slowdown in North Africa

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

RECENT disappointment over the slowing down of the African campaign is as ill founded as was the early conclusion that complete success was a question of a few weeks. Inevitable delays in the establishment of new bases and lines of transportation have held up the offensives in both Tunisia and Libya.

The Germans responded quickly to the initial American landings in Morocco and Algeria by ferrying picked air and technical troops across from Sicily. The resistance offered by the French in Tunisia was nearly as weak as their opposition to the Americans farther west had been, and the invaders encountered no special difficulty in gaining a foothold. The First British Army and its attached American units, with very slight preparation, marched east in an effort to prevent the Germans from consolidating the area under their control. Unfortunately, the attempt was not made with sufficient force or speed to be entirely successful. It did succeed in confining the Germans to a small but strategically vital sector between Bizerte and Tunis and in establishing a loose control over most of the rest of Tunisia. Once the Germans, with their advantage of shorter lines of transport, had won the race to establish air bases in Tunisia, it was easy for them to give Anderson the rough handling reported in early December. Hampered by lack of close air support and by none too safe supply lines, the Allies could do little more than maintain their positions while both sides hurriedly rushed in reinforcements for the major battle ahead.

It is hazardous to make predictions when many important factors are unknown, but in the coming struggle most of the advantages rest with the United Nations. In bringing in fresh troops the Germans are bound to suffer heavier losses from British submarines and long-range bombers than they can inflict on troops approaching by land. And if they are therefore obliged to depend chiefly on air transport, their numbers are seriously cut down. Thus the advantage of their shorter communications is to some extent illusory. Their early air superiority will also be overcome as the Allies build more advanced bases. The Allies have a larger number of planes, and planes and pilots are of higher quality. The advantage of numbers on land is also on our side, and is likely to be emphasized as the Germans continue their retreat in Libya. Such intangibles as leadership, coordination of forces, and the fighting quality of troops cannot be measured accurately and do not obviously favor either side.

It is significant but not surprising that Hitler has abandoned for the time being all attempts to keep any large area in Africa and has concentrated on holding only the Straits of Sicily. His armies no longer threaten the British in the Middle East, but if they can hold their present positions, the Allies will be prevented from using the Mediterranean for transport and thus deprived of one of the main fruits of victory.

But whatever the outcome of the approaching major battle in Tunisia, the African campaign has netted the

United Nations important gains. Though the warships at Dakar and Alexandria are not immediately usable, they are a more valuable addition to United Nations strength at sea than the scuttled French fleet at Toulon can be for Hitler. Hastily sunk vessels can often be raised and repaired, but it is a work of months and in Hitler's present situation is probably not worth undertaking. The active aid of at least 200,000 French and colonial troops would be a greater benefit to the Allies, but this is still only a possibility. Finally, the experience gained by the defeated Dunkirk veterans and the green American units has certainly augmented their value.

The counter-moves of Hitler have thus far been annoying but not decisive. After several very favorable months, sinkings in the Atlantic have increased as the convoy needs of the African campaign have deprived other shipping of needed protection. A blow through Spain cannot be ruled out, though Franco's recent expression of sympathy for fascism sounds more like an attempt to pay a political debt to the Axis without cost to himself than a declaration of belligerency. At the other end of the Mediterranean the strengthening of garrisons in Crete and Greece has been reported. If this is true, it is more likely to represent a bracing of southern defenses than a preparation for a new offensive. A German diversion in the eastern Mediterranean would encounter superior sea power and air power, rugged terrain, British land forces, and a comparatively strong Turkish army. Even if Hitler could spare enough troops from the Russian front and garrison duty in Europe for an offensive here, his shortage of air power would be likely to rule it out.

In Libya the British are continuing to show not only superior force but a definite comprehension of some of the war's more expensive lessons. To General Alexander's credit, he did not, after pursuing the Germans to El Agheila, repeat the mistake of the 1941 campaign and attack without a secure base either for retreat or for further advance in case of success. Instead, he waited for air bases and transportation lines to catch up with him. He was then able to carry out a swift flanking movement which was a brilliant repetition of the Blitzkrieg tactics used earlier by the Germans. This movement was conducted over terrain so difficult that, like the India-Burma frontier, it would have been considered militarily unusable had not the Germans and later the Japanese demonstrated that difficult terrain is not in itself impassable. Alexander may now require another delay to consolidate his gains and strengthen his greatly strained supply lines before he can launch his final drive for the rest of Libya. Rommel's supply problem is getting simpler as he retreats, but the repeated defeats and the pounding of his troops from the air may have destroyed their capacity to make a successful stand—always provided his opponents do not make mistakes.

With increasing frequency the question is being asked,

"After North Africa what next?" Assuming a United Nations triumph there—likely but by no means certain—a number of answers are possible. Victory would free for duty elsewhere between 300,000 and 500,000 troops, only a few of which would be needed to provide garrisons. The first step would be to establish clear air superiority over the central Mediterranean, reopening the entire sea to shipping and thus saving a large amount of merchant tonnage. A necessary prelude to further moves, and one now under way, would be the softening up of Italy from the air. As compared to Germany, Italy has few centers of production. These are concentrated in the north and, as recent attacks have shown, are very poorly defended. Because of his growing weakness in the air, Hitler can defend these cities only at the expense of sections of Europe closer to England; yet he cannot afford to neglect them and see much of Italy's war potential eliminated. He must also consider the possible collapse of Italian morale. In sum, Italy would provide an extremely favorable testing ground for the theories of air-power enthusiasts.

But air war is only a preliminary to invasion by ground forces. Sicily and Sardinia are the most obvious places for starting such an offensive; Sicily would be the more valuable as a bridgehead, but it is also the better defended of the two. Crete and, later, Greece, Yugoslavia, and continental Italy are other possible battle grounds. The next large offensive is not likely to be a genuine "second front" but rather, like the North African invasion, a campaign of limited objectives undertaken with the protection of superior sea and air power in a region far from the center of German strength.

Perhaps it is not too early to hazard a guess as to the outlines of the campaign which may finally win the war. Germany, operating on interior lines, can shift forces to meet an attack at any point with less difficulty than its foes can launch the attack. In the First World War it held a similar position with forces much weaker than the enemy's. Today it is hopelessly inferior at sea and slightly weaker in the air, but it still holds a clear-cut advantage on land. As Great Britain and the United States gain first equality and then superiority, their offensives can become bolder and more persistent until at last Germany will be compelled to defend itself in many sectors at once and unable to shift its forces quickly to a new threatened point on the European coast. Then not only a "second" but several fronts may be opened almost simultaneously, and the Germans will find themselves short of troops for new fronts just as they are now weak in planes.

We are as yet far from reaching this decisive stage of the war. But the African offensives have opened up a whole group of possible lines of action and forced a wide dispersal of German strength. They definitely place the initiative in the hands of the United Nations.

Better than Rationing

BY ADOLF F. STURMTHAL

A FEW weeks ago Randolph E. Paul, general counsel of the Treasury, estimated that the "inflationary gap" in 1943 would amount to not less than \$40 billion. Total national income would rise to \$125 billion, the highest figure in the history of the United States. Taxation for individuals would amount to \$15 billion, and the total supply of civilian goods at current prices would be worth about \$70 billion. Like America's war against the Axis, the fight against inflation has "just begun."

Mr. Randolph's estimate needs a slight revision, since it is obviously a gross figure. Individual and business savings and various other items may reduce the gap by more than \$20 billion. But even so there will be an excess purchasing power of some \$15 billion to \$20 billion which, if left uncontrolled, will threaten the existing price ceilings.* The situation is even worse than this figure indicates. So far the defense of price stability has been greatly aided by accumulated stores and inventories, but in many lines we have now reached the bottom of the barrel. Civilian consumption will depend more and more upon current production alone. Moreover, the experience of the First World War tends to prove that inflation becomes manifest only after a considerable time lag. It takes some time for a consumer whose money income has suddenly increased to adjust to a new standard of living. He accumulates savings and repays debts incurred during the preceding lean years before he begins to have confidence in the permanence of his increased income. We are probably just now entering the stage in which large amounts of consumers' increased incomes will come into the market and press prices upward.

Little relief can be expected from the supply side. A further expansion of production beyond Mr. Paul's \$125 billion is not impossible if additional women are used in production and we have better over-all planning of manpower. But the bulk of any additional effort will undoubtedly go into armaments production and therefore do little to alleviate the pressure on the prices of civilian goods. The simplest way out, it might seem, would be increased taxation; if it were sufficiently heavy to reduce consumers' purchasing power by some \$15 billion to \$20 billion, the inflationary gap would be closed. But it is improbable that Congress would dare to raise taxation by another 100 per cent, and moreover it is by no means

certain that such action would achieve its object, since large parts of the population would draw upon savings and realize assets to avoid a drastic reduction in their standard of living. Without such a reduction, however, our entire policy of rationing and price ceilings is bound to fail.

So far as can be seen from the outside, Washington's present plans are for a combination of tax increases and extended rationing. But this policy, not too successful in the past, is unlikely to be more effective during the coming year. Whatever tax increases can be expected will absorb at the best a fraction of excess purchasing power, and rationing alone will be unable to prevent price increases as long as the consumer retains his excess spending power. Even severe punishment has proved ineffective against the lure of enormous profits to be made out of violation of rationing rules. If rationing alone is left to cope with excess funds in the pockets of consumers, black markets are inevitable, and the retailer will be compelled to set up his own, probably inequitable, schemes for distributing articles not yet rationed.

When technical factors create an extreme scarcity of particular commodities, their rationing is appropriate and will continue to be necessary. We are heading, however, for a period in which all or nearly all commodities will be scarce in relation to augmented consumers' demands. It is the general shortage of labor that is fast becoming the crucial factor of our economic policy. To handle this problem by rationing specific articles will lead to a most objectionable situation. Every new rationing measure will merely cause excess purchasing power to rush toward other not yet rationed items and make for scarcity of substitutes for substitutes. The more we ration, the farther we shall be compelled to extend rationing. The OPA will be engaged in a hopeless race with a torrent of purchasing power looking for new outlets.

Instead of doctoring the symptoms we must attack the evil itself by eliminating so far as possible the excess purchasing power of the consumer. When this is done, specific rationing will take care of the few remaining special shortages, and the administration of these will stay within manageable proportions. The consumer can be permitted to exert his free choice as long as his aggregate spending does not exceed the limits necessary to prevent inflation.

The basic principle of price stabilization is simple. Civilian demand must be curtailed to the point where it corresponds to available supplies at existing prices. The

* Somewhat different figures have been presented by Maxwell S. Stewart for the Public Affairs Committee, but these divergences do not affect the main argument of this article, as Mr. Stewart expects an even larger inflationary gap.

real difficulties begin when we try to implement this principle. Should existing prices be considered unchangeable? After all, we are not interested in preventing changes in relative prices, but only in seeing that the price average does not move upward. In other words, there is no objection to an increase in the price of certain articles, provided others become cheaper. Such relative price changes are, in a capitalist economy, the normal way of adjusting supply to changes in the relative demand for various articles. A policy of immutable price ceilings may develop into a hindrance to production and thus defeat itself.

Price control, therefore, must be a subsidiary feature of an anti-inflationary policy; the main feature must be a direct attack upon excess purchasing power. The problem here is to select a mode of attack that will hit spending but not saving. To prevent the use of savings or assets for current consumption is one of the chief difficulties of anti-inflationary measures; the more drastic the measure the greater the difficulty. For political realists the question becomes how far to use taxation and how far to rely upon other methods. Plans that immobilize spending power rather than tax it away will probably meet with greater success than draconic tax laws.

Among the innumerable plans that have been advocated to eliminate excess purchasing power, three main ideas stand out—those of John Maynard Keynes, W. Allen Wallis, and M. Kalecki. The Keynes plan, the oldest of the three, consists of a system of "compulsory savings" or "deferred pay": a fraction of current incomes is retained and "frozen" for the duration, or perhaps somewhat beyond the end of hostilities. Compared with taxation designed to absorb excess purchasing power, this plan has considerable psychological advantages, for the citizen keeps his money although he cannot make use of a part of it. The main opposition to the Keynes plan has come from the trade unions, which have pointed out that the higher income groups, even if a larger proportion of their incomes were frozen, could defeat the purpose of the plan by reducing their normal voluntary savings and possibly spending previously accumulated sums to make up for compulsory savings. Their standard of living would therefore not decline to the degree necessary to avoid inflationary price increases. This is exactly the same danger that is involved in heavy taxation of higher income groups.

Professor Wallis of Stanford University has advocated a steeply progressive spending tax. Under this plan consumers are allocated a basic total-expenditure ration. Expenditures beyond this amount would be subject to a steeply progressive tax. The scheme could be administered in conjunction with the federal income tax, with the taxpayer filing two returns. For the spending tax,

he would indicate his total income and his savings during the fiscal year, deduct from the rest the tax-free basic ration, and compute the tax on the balance. Considerable as the administrative difficulties may be, they appear minor compared with those of specific rationing of all commodities.

The Wallis plan should not be mistaken for the general sales tax so ardently advocated by high income groups this year. A general sales tax would tend to be regressive. It would bear most heavily on low income groups, which must spend a large part of their income on consumption goods. Under the Wallis plan the weight of the tax would fall upon that spending which goes beyond the tax-free minimum allocated to the consumer; it would hit the big spenders. Differences in standards of living would be somewhat reduced, though by no means completely leveled off. It is clear that the better the tax fulfils its purpose, which is to curb excess consumption, the smaller would be its yield. Thus it would not replace the income tax but would act as a flexible device to reduce consumption to the level compatible with available consumers' goods.

If this plan were adopted, the consumer would be free to distribute his purchases according to his own desires except in the few cases where absolute scarcity compels specific rationing. Relative price movements would take care of the remaining shortages. If too much meat were demanded, its prices would go up, thus discouraging further meat purchases. This price increase, however, would not represent an inflationary danger since other prices must have correspondingly decreased—the more money consumers spend on meat the less they have left for other articles. The Wallis plan is somewhat similar in this respect to the British meat-rationing system, under which the amount that each person can spend a week on meat is limited; he can spend it, according to his taste, on a small quantity of high-quality meat or on a larger quantity of lower-grade cuts. If too many people prefer quality, the price of first-grade cuts rises and that of inferior cuts drops. This movement of relative prices soon reestablishes a balance between consumption and available supplies.

The main problem of enforcement would be to prevent purchases by a low-tax consumer in behalf of a high-tax consumer, also to prevent barter. Another might be the difficulty of checking on dissaving. But since dissaving will most frequently consist in selling assets, it will usually mean someone else's spending and thus be subject to the tax. Dissaving is therefore less of a problem under the Wallis plan than under others.

The Wallis plan represents a modification of Jerome Weinstein's suggestions, a summary of which was printed in this magazine in the issue of July 11. Mr. Weinstein advocated a progressive tax on spending beyond a minimum. Every consumer would be given a number of cou-

pons to be used in the purchase of certain articles for which demand was likely to exceed supply at existing prices. Further coupons beyond this minimum could be obtained by payment of a progressive tax. Mr. Weinstein's suggestions would be easier to enforce than the Wallis plan, provided the transfer of coupons from a low taxpayer to a high taxpayer could be prevented. If the Weinstein plan were extended to the purchase of all items in retail stores, it would come close to Mr. Kalecki's general-expenditure rationing.

This plan was presented early in 1941 in the Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Statistics. It would apply to all items bought in retail stores. Services, entertainments, and education would thus be left unrationed—wisely, I believe, for there is hardly an inflationary danger if thirty-five students rather than twelve listen to their professor's lecture, or if half a million more people see a film. Mr. Kalecki suggests the issuance to all consumers of general coupons representing the total expenditure allowed by the government. With a social radicalism that reflects the state of mind of England in 1940, his plan provides for identical expenditure by everyone, thus eliminating all income differences for the duration. All purchases in retail stores except those for books, medicine, newspapers, and magazines would require payment in both money and coupons. Actually, these coupons would represent simply a second kind of money, and

every article in a retail store would carry two prices, one in pounds sterling, the other in coupons.

It is more than probable that in this form the plan would be unacceptable in the United States. The protest against the \$25,000 limit for salaries is sufficient evidence of this; and I wonder whether such leveling off of income differences could be carried out in England now. But it would be quite possible to combine the Kalecki plan with differentials in the allocation of general-expenditure coupons, differentials which would represent a steeply decreasing proportion of higher incomes. Again additional coupons might be allocated in proportion to the purchase of war bonds. In this form the Kalecki plan might be adjusted to the political and social conditions of this country. It leaves the consumer free to choose what he will buy with the spending power allotted to him and renders unnecessary a cumbersome system of specific rationing of hundreds of items, with all the attendant difficulties of enforcement.

The moment is fast approaching when we shall have to choose between a huge bureaucratic administration of universal shortages and some form of general limitation on expenditure. We should not hesitate to favor the latter. It is futile to ask the OPA to do the job of the Treasury. Rationing must remain an emergency measure to deal with extraordinary scarcities. It cannot replace taxation or restriction on spending.

The Jews of Europe

II. SEVEN WAYS TO HELP THEM NOW

BY PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

AT THIS stage of the war the Jews face a frightful dilemma. If Hitler wins, all hope will be gone, for he will be in a position to execute his threat to destroy them. But if he is defeated, the outlook also is black, for with each setback the Nazis have perpetrated new pogroms. And with final defeat these ruthless men who know that they may expect no mercy from any people, not even the Germans, will let loose such a reign of terror as the world has never seen. "If the day should ever come," wrote Goebbels recently in his weekly *Das Reich*, "when we must go, if some day we are compelled to leave the scene of history, we will slam the door so hard that the universe will shake and mankind will stand back in stupefaction." They will, of course, seek to engulf all Jews in this last wave of elemental evil.

And yet there is not a Jew who, facing this horrible possibility, does not support prosecution of the war with all his heart. I have ministered to parents of sons killed in service and have yet to find one who regards the

sacrifice as vain. Jews in the underground movements of Poland, France, Yugoslavia, and other countries daily subject themselves and their families to the risk of immediate execution—and resolutely carry on. There is a wisdom in this attitude which has an immediate relevance beyond the conviction that a Nazi victory would destroy both the life of the Jewish people and the values that make life worth living. The principal hope of saving the Jews in Hitler's clutches lies in swift, decisive victory.

Realistically viewed, this is the situation: Inside Germany tension and friction are increasing. Those elements which hope to survive a Nazi overthrow are daily growing in power. The middle classes, long cheated and disillusioned, are asserting their discontent. The Junker generals, who have always despised the Nazis and distrusted their war programs, are growing daily in relative strength and in the esteem of the people. These groups, which have shown no particular love for the Jews but have great affection for their own skins, are beginning to

adopt attitudes which may win them some compassion from enemies with victory in sight. The fear of rapidly approaching reprisals may move them to try to exert some moderating influence on Nazi ruthlessness. It has done so already, we are informed. Similarly restive are the leftist workers' groups who believed that the Nazis were socialists and who now feel that they have been sold out. Further, the churches of Germany have emerged from this blood bath with renewed strength. The Nazis have not been able to silence them or to curb their independent leadership. Now that the day of judgment is swiftly nearing, they too can be expected to exercise a restraining influence on the German people. The nearer that day approaches the more outspoken and the more potent will be their influence. Always uncomfortable in the presence of Nazi anti-Semitism, they are now vigorously opposed to it. And the weakening of Nazi prestige through a succession of defeats strengthens their hands and those of other groups that have come to detest Hitler. Uncertain though it be, the best hope for saving the Jews in German territory is the quick overpowering of the Nazis.

It is equally the best hope for Jews in the satellite countries. The Italian people, despite official Fascist anti-Semitism and Nazi propaganda, have remained friendly to the Jews. A Nazi defeat will enable Jews to survive there, whereas victory will lead to their eventual extermination. In Hungary, where anti-Semitism has been directed only against the property and rights of Jews, not against their persons, and in Rumania, where the regime is cowardly and corrupt, the wise, forthright apportionment of rewards and punishment may achieve the desired results. Hungary can be promised a merciful peace if it behaves with humanity toward its minorities; Rumania can be threatened with devastating bombing if it does not cease its murder of innocent civilians. In each instance words will be effective only in the measure that they are supported by effective military action.

Such action is now a reality in French North Africa, which according to the census of 1936 has a Jewish population of 330,000. For the past two years the anti-Jewish laws of Vichy have been applied to these communities, and for the past six months they have lived in dread of Nazi violence. Now the successful invasion of North Africa by the United Nations has lifted that fear, and they are on the way to freedom. A chaplain accompanying these forces writes, "Well, here I am in North Africa. . . . The Jews have suffered the same restrictions as those imposed upon Jews in Vichy France. But of course, now that we are here, that will be done away with—thank God—as they are doing."

There is justified impatience with the slowness with which these restrictions are being lifted, though it appears that the complexities of the situation make a certain amount of delay inevitable. Admiral Darlan's personal attitude on the subject is demonstrated by a letter

which it is my privilege to make public for the first time (a copy is in the possession of the World Jewish Congress). Addressed to the Delegate General of the French Government in the Occupied Territories it reveals an opposition to the extremes of Nazi repression combined with an anti-Semitism strong enough in its own right:

Re: Anti-Jewish measures

Reference: Note No. 678 of December 15, 1941, of the Commander-in-Chief of the Military Forces in France

- I. In the note mentioned in the reference the Commander-in-Chief of the Military Forces in France demands that a certain number of anti-Jewish measures be taken in the occupied zone, such as obligation to wear distinguishing signs, prohibition to visit public places, with the exception of some localities to be reserved for their particular use, and the establishment of a rigorous curfew.
- II. I have the honor to inform you that I do not agree with the suggestions made.

I believe that the various restrictive measures taken up to date against Jews are sufficient to obtain the desired aims, that is, their elimination from public service and leading positions in industrial and commercial activities of the country.

There is no doubt that going beyond this would profoundly shock French public opinion, which would consider these measures a nuisance without actual effect either for the future of the country or the security of the occupying forces. The very excess of these decisions would certainly be detrimental to the desired end and would risk provoking a movement in favor of the Jews considered as martyrs. (Signed) F. DARLAN

President Roosevelt's declaration of November 17 concerning the arrangements made by General Dwight Eisenhower was unequivocal: "I have asked for the abrogation of all laws and decrees inspired by Nazi governments or Nazi ideologists." In his press conference the President stated specifically that this order referred to anti-Jewish legislation. Shortly afterward General Eisenhower received a delegation of Algerian Jews who requested the abrogation of the anti-Jewish laws. He assured them this would be done. Jews have already been readmitted into the French army, and the *numerus clausus* has been abolished at the University of Algiers and in lower schools.

There is another level on which the United Nations can help to sustain Jews. Men can survive oppression so long as they can hope. But when hope goes, the will to live goes too. On the level of morale the record of the United Nations has not been good. One of the most effective devices of Nazi propaganda has been the exploitation of the fact that the United Nations are unwilling to accept any substantial number of the Jews whom the Nazis wish to expel. The emptiness of protests against anti-Semitism is made plain when the protesters

themselves are unwilling to grant refuge to the victims. The sinking of the Struma with 769 Jewish refugees denied entrance to Palestine and the spectacle of the St. Louis with its load of harried German Jews pleading in vain for admittance to many ports revealed a callousness on the part of Christian peoples which has done irreparable damage to the morale of Jews. That the State Department should have felt obliged in the past to take into account the objections of some Americans even to admitting a number of German Jewish children, and that prominent members of Congress should seize the present occasion, when Jews are at the lowest depths, to announce their opposition to immigration—these are facts that rob Jews of the last straws to which they have been clinging. Where is the humanity of men who cannot even wait until the Nazis are defeated to inform their victims that they may not hope to come here? Where is the Christianity of the men and women—and some of the most articulate opponents of the admission of children were women—who out of prejudice or narrow selfishness obstruct the escape of little boys and girls from the Nazi hell? Do the words of Jesus mean nothing to those professing Christians: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren, ye have done it unto me"? Little Switzerland has put the great nations to shame. Living under the shadow of German might, the Swiss people have been magnificent in their outspoken opposition to anti-Semitism, in their refusal to expel illegal immigrants who have found refuge within their borders, and in accepting nearly 10,000 refugees in the past six months.

The United Nations also can show their genuine concern, and can nourish the hopes of Jews on the edge of the abyss, by the following acts:

1. Announce immediately that the Jews, as Jews, will have a hearing in the councils of the United Nations. It is the Jewish people that the Nazis have set out to destroy, and it is as a people that the Jews should take their place with other peoples on the commissions now being established to prepare for the peace.

2. Grant to Palestinian and stateless Jews the right to fight as Jews against the Nazis. Let Jewish regiments be formed in Palestine to join the armies of the Free French and the Free Poles and other peoples in the struggle against the Axis. Apart from its practical effects, this will have a therapeutic value in substituting for the present condition of humiliation and helplessness a consciousness of participation in the struggle for freedom.

3. Open the doors of Palestine at least to the legal immigration assured by the MacDonald White Paper of 1939. This document, despite Jewish protests, is still the law. It permits an immigration of 75,000 Jews in a five-year period. Thus far, only 38,000 of these certificates have been granted. Let all technical obstructions be removed forthwith so that another 37,000 Jews for whom

a visa to Palestine is the difference between life and death may be saved without delay. It may well be pointed out in this connection that countries like Turkey, Switzerland, and Spain would be willing to accept large numbers of Jewish refugees on a temporary basis if they could see clearly an eventual outlet for them. But so long as Britain places obstacles in the way of admitting even such numbers to Palestine as the White Paper permits, why should these countries behave differently?

4. Frontiers should be open for transit purposes wherever possible; when necessary, they should be forced open. The plight of the 500 Polish Jewish children now in Teheran, most of them orphans of the war, is a case in point. These were among the 10,000 Polish refugees who made their way finally across Russia into Persia. Now, half-starved and unwanted, they are stranded in Teheran. Strong appeals to the Palestine government and guaranties of their support ultimately evoked 500 immigration visas for the children. But they must cross Iraq to get to Palestine, and Nuri Said Pasha, Prime Minister of Iraq, has refused thus far to grant permission. Here is an instance where a show of strength, not polite appeals, could quickly get results. The British certainly have demonstrated that they know how to get what they really want in Iraq. These desperate situations, where swift bold action alone can save many lives, call for daring imagination. It has been suggested to the British that they transport the children from Teheran to Palestine in bombers. The distance is only 1,050 miles and can be flown in five hours. Why not? The plan has been offered that neutral countries such as Sweden, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey should permit the entry, for a temporary stay, of a considerable number of refugees on the understanding that Jews already there be moved at once to the Americas to make room for the newcomers. Why not?

5. The New York *Times* announced on December 30 that the Mexican government had agreed to give temporary shelter to 5,000 Polish refugees, mostly the wives and children of soldiers now fighting the Nazis. They will be supported with funds supplied by the Polish government, which also guarantees their repatriation after the war. This is almost the identical proposal which Moshe Shertok, head of the political department of the Jewish Agency, has been making to the Allied governments, thus far without visible results. If these governments would guarantee to neutral countries the cost of maintaining escaped Jews during the war or until they could be permanently resettled elsewhere after the war, innumerable Jews would find their way to these lands. Even now, without any guaranties, many thousands of fleeing Jews have crossed the Pyrenees into Spain, the Danube into Hungary, the Dardanelles into Turkey, and the Baltic into Sweden. Their flight has been abetted by sympathetic Christians in Nazi-controlled countries. Their numbers have been limited largely by the unwill-

ingness of other countries to accept escaping Jews. But with guaranties of maintenance and ultimate repatriation a number of countries might be willing to shelter substantial numbers. I do not speak at this point of the degradation of the Jews in this situation, apparently everywhere unwanted permanently. That will be the basis of my third article. Here I speak only of the elementary duty to save life.

6. If the prevention of needless suffering and death is our duty, has not the time come to reconsider the question of feeding starving populations in Europe? There is no evidence that the food sent to Greece has aided the Nazis. This war, it now appears, will be won by the decisive defeat of the Nazi armies, and not through a long process of attrition. If a safeguarded program of feeding, similar to that carried out in Greece, can be extended to millions of men, women, and children—of course not to Jews alone—and especially to those who will be the nucleus of the democratic forces with whom peace some day must be made, is it not worth the risk? If we should discover that this food is being confiscated by the Nazis, we could discontinue it immediately. For the time being, it appears that some direct help is possible. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee is still maintaining some soup kitchens, with the aid of

local Jewish communities in Nazi-dominated territory. And Jews in America still receive word that packages of food sent to relatives in Poland in some instances reach their destination.

7. Save the children. Let every technical barrier be set aside, let all red tape be cut, so that these innocent, sorely hurt little boys and girls may be succored. Realism offers some hope here. For though the Nazis can use able-bodied men and women for slave labor, the children are simply so many more mouths to feed. Even the Nazis are reluctant to shoot children in cold blood, and the abhorrence of the civilian Christian population reinforces that reluctance. For the most part this problem resolves itself into utilizing the good offices of neutral powers, obtaining the consent of adjacent countries for transit purposes, providing means of transportation, and procuring immigration visas.

These are very difficult matters, but no stone should be left unturned. The fate of European Jewry in these coming months will be a test of the sincerity of the United Nations.

[This is the second of three articles on the position of European Jewry. The series will be concluded in an early issue with Dr. Bernstein's analysis of long-range solutions to the problem.]

Violence in the Classroom

BY AGNES E. BENEDICT

THE forces of war, combined with the forces of reaction, are placing our schools in imminent danger. Restlessness, turbulence, and emotional instability are increasing among the pupils, as I believe almost any teacher in the country would testify. Juvenile delinquency is rising—in some places alarmingly. And the blame for this situation is being slyly laid at the door of progressive education. Reactionaries are seizing the opportunity to try to root out the few promising experiments in progressive education that have gained a foothold in the American school system.

Liberals have for some time cherished the comfortable illusion that all is well with our schools, that throughout America the progressive movement is everywhere breaking the educational lockstep, that our schools are rapidly being transformed into miniature societies, that the credo of our teachers is becoming "learn by doing," and "learn through play," and "the only real discipline is self-discipline." Nothing is farther from the truth. The sad reality is that progressivism has hardly made a dent on the schools of this country. The illusion that it has is being deliberately fostered by its enemies, who have

long waited for just such a chance as the war has brought.

In a recent issue of the *New York Journal-American* under the front-page banner headline "Links Pupil Rowdiness to Lenin Theory," the principal of a Brooklyn high school held the so-called "activity programs" in the New York elementary schools responsible for the widespread defiance of authority. These programs, he asserted, had originated in Russia but had been discontinued there because so many children took to roving the streets. At about the same time the *New York Sun* carried statements by the Teachers' Alliance that insubordination, fighting, and insults to teachers had been increasing in the schools for some years, and that they were the result of too lenient discipline. Greater severity in discipline and custodial care for juvenile offenders were recommended. Many teachers advocated a return to corporal punishment. In California the Hearst press has for months been viciously attacking progressive education. It has finally aroused so much hysteria that an outstanding course of study, developed over a period of years, has been thrown out.

The situation reached a climax not long ago in New

York City. In November a former student in a New York high school shot and killed a teacher. In December a woman entered a classroom and attacked the teacher on the ground that she had kicked the woman's stepson. The Teachers' Guild of the American Federation of Labor joined with the reactionary Teachers' Alliance in demanding that the police commissioner send officers into the schools.

The emotional instability of our young people today is the direct result of war. The break-up of homes, the migration of families, the lack of proper parental supervision, with fathers and mothers both working, the responsibilities of adult life forced upon unready adolescents—all these have had their effect. But there are other long-time causes which must be considered. Widespread restlessness or rebellion among pupils in war time means that all has not been well with them in time of peace. The two incidents in New York represent an explosion of forces long generating. Behind the current war conditions stand the persistent defects of our social and economic system—low incomes, poor housing, lack of recreational and health facilities, racial inequality. Nor is our educational system entirely blameless. Methods of discipline and methods of teaching based on a wholly unsound educational philosophy have long prevailed.

I do not say that there are no progressive public schools in America. There are, in fact, many such schools. There are even entire school systems, in many parts of the country, which are progressive. Other systems contain some progressive elements, such as the New York activity programs. But the schools of this country as a whole are not progressive. In 1935 the regents of New York authorized an inquiry into the schools of that state. The twelve-volume report which appeared in 1938 and 1939 revealed an authoritarian approach, regimented pupils, a formal and bookish curriculum. While the secondary schools were selected for study, the recommendations made showed clearly that the curricula and teaching methods of the elementary schools had the same basic defects. The schools of New York State are certainly not markedly behind those of the country as a whole. Nor is it likely that they have radically changed since 1939. Can they have relaxed their disciplinary methods to such an extent that rebellion could be fostered by "coddling" and "spoiling"? The activity program which the *Journal-American* holds responsible for rowdiness was recommended, not formally adopted, in the New York schools for the year 1942-43. How much harm can it have done in that time?

If the turbulence of pupils today is to be attributed to our educational system, the old methods of formal education must take the blame, for they have been generally in force throughout the country. In our typical urban schools the children march in long, silent lines through the halls. They sit like ramrods at their desks

and speak only when they have permission. In smaller communities there may be less formality, but the atmosphere is the same. The children are handled in the aggregate: all do the same things at the same time, advance at the same rate of speed, for the program is geared to that hypothetical "average," not to Mary, or Tom, or Elizabeth. They learn, for the most part, through memorizing and reciting facts from a textbook. They are viewed largely as so many minds—little account is taken of their bodies and emotions. In general our schools lack the guidance services—vocational counsel, recreation and health services—which make possible the early recognition and treatment of emotional disorders, the correlation of school and home life, the conservation of physical and mental health. The parents of the children are not welcome inside the schools. Lip-service is paid to the parents' rights through such measures as "visitors' days," but parents and teachers have little opportunity to become acquainted.

Corporal punishment has been generally abolished in our schools. But though you see no whips in the classroom, you hear voices that carry the sting of a whip. Teachers forbidden by law to strike a child can and do tell other children to strike him. They tell parents to do so. They paste adhesive tape across a child's mouth. They use terrifying threats. Only recently I heard of teachers who have been saying that if the children are good "the bombs won't come." I am not for a moment charging that these are regular practices in our formal schools. I know that many teachers using formal methods are sympathetic and understanding. But such disciplinary devices are far more prevalent than is supposed.

Unfortunately the effect of the war is to increase still further the tendency to formalism and regimentation in education. Already the shortage of teachers in America has been conservatively estimated at 30,000 by the National Education Association. Attendance at teachers' colleges has fallen off more than 20 per cent. The thinning ranks of teachers are being filled by persons of poor caliber ill-equipped for their jobs, and the issuance of temporary licenses is lowering further the standards of the profession. Where public income is reduced, there is a tendency to cut school budgets, since "necessary" services have to be bought at prevailing prices, but school personnel and equipment can be sacrificed. Thus the pressure for economy reinforces the tendency toward reaction. The Committee on Instructional Affairs appointed by the New York Board of Education recently to study conditions in "problem areas" states that "it is impossible to educate individual children in classes too large for individual attention, where predelinquency goes unrecognized and uncorrected." The committee pleads for the repair of older buildings, "in order that basic physical comforts [lavatories, lunch rooms, and the like] . . . be provided," and for a maximum class regis-

tration in the elementary schools of thirty-five, in the junior high schools of twenty-five. It also asks that teachers rated as "unsatisfactory" elsewhere shall not be transferred to problem areas and that no references be made to children's court records in class.

If anyone wishes honestly to judge the effects of progressive methods of discipline on public-school children, it is possible to do so. Public School 33 in New York City, one of the two "all-day neighborhood schools" conducted by a farsighted Board of Education with the advice and assistance of the Public Education Association, has been changing to progressive methods of teaching and discipline for six and a half years. It has introduced many of the so-called "frills." Its discipline is what the educational reactionaries describe as "coddling" and "spoiling." The children move about the halls independently and purposefully; they speak freely and naturally to one another.

The school, an old barracks-like building, is located on the lower West Side in New York, where incomes are barely adequate. Most of the children are of foreign-born parents living in furnished rooms or tenement flats. After five years of the new methods petty vandalism in the neighborhood has been greatly reduced, and only one-fourth of the offenders are attendants at the school. Unlawful entry of school buildings is always a problem in New York, but only two incidents of this kind have occurred since the project started, and both times entry was made by a child who had been referred for psychiatric treatment. The principal reports that the children show much greater responsibility, pride in the school, and interest in the neighborhood, and that the war has not developed the slightest need to return to the old formal methods of discipline.

Last year the Board of Education extended the plan to a second school, P. S. 194 in Harlem. With the percentage of juvenile delinquency five times as great among Negro as among white children, the Board of Education would hardly have chosen to introduce progressive methods into a school in this section of the city if it were not pretty sure what their effect would be. The president of the Board of Education recently recommended this plan for every school in New York.

It is in the example of such schools as these that our hope lies in this emergency. Yet at the very moment when the use of progressive methods should be extended, the movement has to fight for its very life. The situation of our schools would be sufficiently serious without these attacks by reactionary forces; education has always been a casualty of war. Had the last war continued one more year, the schools of the country would have been completely demoralized. Unless the liberals of the country rouse themselves from their comfortable dream and come to the support of our free schools, history will surely repeat itself, and with more serious consequences.

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Power on the Farm

PERHAPS I am a congenital optimist, but I find it difficult to share fully the gloom which oozes from some of my friends as they listen to the fee-fi-fo-fumming of Republicans smacking their lips at the thought of 1944. I am ready enough to admit that present prospects for the election of another New Deal Administration are far from bright; I am only too well aware that the opportunities for mischief of a reactionary government are enormous. And I am perfectly willing to concede that the portrait gallery of prospective Republican champions is a depressing spectacle.

In spite of Shakespeare, however, the good that men do often does live after them, and I find some comfort in the historically established fact that, in a democracy, well-established reforms usually outlive their progenitors. The New Dealers may be thrust into the ash can for a time, but much of the New Deal is likely to prove too robust to be destroyed. Indeed, however fiercely the Republicans condemn the Roosevelt Administration as a whole, I am willing to place a modest bet that in time they will anxiously claim paternity of many of its parts. The reluctance of their new chairman, Herman Spangler, in his first press interview to progress from a broad indictment of the New Deal to a bill of particulars suggests an understandable hesitation to condemn measures which have brought concrete benefits to broad sections of the electorate.

One New Deal creation which seems certain to survive any Republican victory despite its unpopularity with many of the G. O. P.'s financial backers is the Rural Electrification Administration. By bringing light and power to the farm it has wrought a revolution that will not be easily undone, and in its six and a half years of operation it has put down organizational roots of an extremely tenacious kind. Its job has been to encourage, finance, and provide technical aid for the electrification of the countryside, and its method has been, essentially, the stimulation of mutual help. Some of its funds have gone to private companies and to public bodies, but the great bulk of its loans have been to cooperatives created by the would-be consumers of electricity.

These cooperatives operate on the sound Rochdale principle of one vote to each member and elect democratically their boards of trustees, who are responsible for management subject to certain controls by the REA so long as any loans are outstanding. Such loans are made on a twenty-five-year amortization plan which recognizes that a certain period must generally elapse before an electric utility attains operating stability. For the first

thirty months, therefore, interest is allowed to accumulate, while from the thirty-first to the forty-eighth month interest on accumulated interest and principle is payable. Thereafter payments on a gradually rising scale leave the enterprise free of debt at the end of twenty-five years. How soundly the work has been financed and how faithfully the cooperatives have carried out their obligations is shown by the fact that on September 9 last delinquencies were less than 1 per cent of accounts due, while payments in advance were thirty-four times as great as payments in arrears.

The REA has succeeded in adding to national wealth and productive capacity in a field where private enterprise had conspicuously fallen down. Few power companies were willing to pioneer in rural electrification, and when they did, their demands for guaranties and their high rates discouraged farmers from making the maximum use of power. The REA has proceeded on the principle that low rates create their own market and rapidly cut costs by building up the load. When electricity comes to the farm, the farmer at first perhaps only uses it for lighting and a few simple appliances, but he soon learns the economies that can be achieved by putting power to work. His wife realizes even more quickly how much her back-breaking burdens can be lightened by such things as cookers and washing-machines.

There is an almost endless variety of uses for electricity around a farm; milking, pumping, silage chopping, wood sawing, refrigeration for dairy products are only a few of the more obvious. Electric brooders have proved very popular both because of their efficiency and because of their low operating costs and safety as compared with oil-burning types. Many small farmers make their own at very low cost on the basis of plans distributed through the REA cooperatives. And by making possible quantity sales, the spread of electricity into rural areas has brought down the prices of factory-made brooders, as well as those of many other kinds of apparatus.

Rural electrification is playing an important part in maintaining war production. The electrified farm is a labor-saving farm, and many farmers who, before the power-lines reached them, might have been forced to abandon or curtail operations because of inability to get hired help, can now carry on. An example of the way in which electric cooperatives are assisting the war effort comes from Portales County, Texas, where this year acreage in peanuts—of vital importance owing to the shortage of imported vegetable oils—has been more than tripled because power was made available to work the irrigation pumps.

Similar stories of the blessings of power might be drawn from any of the forty-six states and two territories in which the REA is now operating. For the time being, shortage of materials is slowing extensions, but a renewal of progress is certain after the war no matter what

Administration rules in Washington. None of the votes gained by Republicans in the farm states in November were won by crabbing about the REA.

[With this issue Everybody's Business will be suspended for a time in order to free Mr. Hutchison for some special assignments, the first of which will be a series of articles on the Associated Press.]

In the Wind

YUGOSLAV GROUPS and trade unions in certain communities with heavy Slav populations threaten to demonstrate if "The Chetniks," a motion picture glorifying the career of General Draja Mihailovich, is released. . . . Communists threaten to demonstrate if "Tennessee Johnson," a picture sympathetic to the Reconstruction President, Andrew Johnson, is released. . . . Anti-Communists threaten to protest if the forthcoming picture "Mission to Moscow" casts Leon Trotsky as a Nazi agent.

THE FUEL SHORTAGE may be the means of creating more good-will among the nation's churches. In many communities churches are being closed and "union services" for Catholics, Protestants, and Jews are being held. Another method of conservation being used in several places is to close schools during January and February with the intention of keeping them open in July and August.

IN THE WEST INDIES, where oil is used not only as a direct source of light and heat but also to generate electricity, the shortage has forced the people back to a method of illumination not used since the early days of colonization. They are making tapers out of cocoanut meat.

THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT, which recently withheld from the mails several issues of the *Militant*, a Trotskyist paper, has released for distribution two of the issues which had been barred.

FROM AN ARTICLE on the editorial page of the Sacramento (California) *Bee*: "The Chinese language has only about 15,000 words, but it is very difficult to master because none of them are in English."

INTERVIEWED on the occasion of his departure from the executive mansion, Eugene Talmadge, ex-governor of Georgia, was asked by an Atlanta *Journal* reporter whether his views on the Negro question had changed. "I firmly believe that racial discrimination is a divine thing," he said.

A CAMPAIGN to win support for the intricate plan for post-war organization devised by Ely Culbertson, the bridge expert, will begin early this year. Max Eastman, who has called the plan "next on the agenda after victory," will explain it in the March issue of *Reader's Digest*.

[The \$5 prize for the best item received in December goes to F. McC. of Atlanta, Georgia, for his story about the petition to forbid public display of portraits of Abraham Lincoln in South Carolina, published December 5.]

The Generals and Hitler

BY HANS ERNEST FRIED

BECAUSE the First World War came to an end with the overthrow of the German Kaiser, there is an inclination on both sides in this war to relate the events of 1918 to the present situation. In 1918 Germany lost the war and the Allies "lost the peace." Therefore each side now thinks that to forestall a repetition of its own failure it must avoid "the mistakes of 1918."

For the German war party the fear of repeating the experience of 1918 has long been an obsession. Hitler and his aides have always been acutely aware of the possibility of revolution, and have devoted all their energy and ingenuity to making it impossible. They have gone to extremes of precaution which the Kaiser never thought of. Where the Kaiser curtailed, Hitler has abolished; where the Kaiser arrested, Hitler has killed. Hitlerism arose from the assumption that the Kaiser's militarism failed because it was not efficient enough. Consequently the driving idea of Hitler and his aides has always been that it is better to be ten thousand per cent too ruthless than one-half of one per cent too mild.

And yet the historical fact is that it was not a popular

uprising which compelled the Kaiser to give up. Not only was there no technical preparation for revolution; there was among the workers a conscious disinclination to active resistance. For decades German labor had been taught by its books and lecturers and newspapers that only when socialism ceased to spin fantasies about the "future state" could it be said to have come of age. It is true that the country, under protracted strain, had given certain indications that it was approaching the limits of endurance. But in spite of much bitterness about the conduct of the war as well as its hardships, there was in no sense a temper of revolt. It was not revolution in the rear but the decision of the High Command that ended the war.

In the late summer of 1918 General Ludendorff, then virtual military dictator, simply walked out. Before the war was over, and long before the civilian population grasped what was going on, the military command decided to quit. The official records of the negotiations carried on behind closed doors between the High Command, the Kaiser, and the civilian Cabinet, are most



Drawing by A. Hoffmeister

revealing. Contrary to the legend carefully fostered by the German militarists after the war, it was the civilians who were flabbergasted at the idea of surrendering; and it was the extreme pan-German militarist wing of the war machine, led by Ludendorff and seconded by von Hindenburg, that wanted to end the war at once and that very bluntly forced the Kaiser and the civilian government to sue for an armistice.

History has proved that from the point of view of their own interest this was the shrewdest move they could possibly have made. Everything turned out well for the military rulers of Germany, the secret plotters of the Second World War. In November, 1918, when they realized there was no longer a chance of winning the war militarily, they sacrificed the Kaiser and the monarchical form of government in order to win the war politically. The Kaiser gone, they marched home almost in triumph. The republic licked the boots of the generals, and the Allied Command dined with them even before the war was formally ended. Of the military restrictions imposed upon Germany, none prohibited the continued service of these men as leaders of the new German army.

We come, then, to the question whether a repetition of 1918 is possible, and if so who would benefit by it.

Hitler, of course, is well aware of what actually led to the Kaiser's abdication, and he does not intend to be put in the Kaiser's boots. To this end he has been careful from the start to keep his military leaders from becoming too popular. In the First World War, when William II gave the command to Ludendorff and Hindenburg, an unprecedented propaganda campaign presented them to the people. Their pictures, wreathed in oak leaves, were to be seen everywhere—far more than the likeness of the Kaiser himself. As a result, the power of the two generals came to exceed that of their nominal superior. For instance, the mere threat, in July, 1917, that they would resign if Bethmann-Hollweg were not removed, compelled the head of the German state to dismiss his Chancellor. So when Hitler shifts his generals and fields marshals at will, it is a sign of strength, not of weakness. When he removes officers who have enjoyed victory, it is evidence of his undisputed power.

But let us suppose the generals were to turn against Hitler. Would this mark them as anti-Nazi?

Now, as in 1918, the German generals want an all-powerful state; they want what Herbert Spencer, back in the 1880's, called a "militant community organized for constant war." In a little book entitled "The World's Fear of War," General Horst von Metzsch, a professor at the Berlin *Hochschule für Politik*, puts it this way: It is impossible in the long run to have side by side a civilian government and a strong authoritarian army; Hitler solved this by creating a "military leader state"; he made it possible for the army leaders to concentrate on external warfare because the party takes care of domestic opposi-

tion; all aspects of German life must be militarized; and, most important of all, neither the party alone nor the army alone can bring about "Germany's resurrection"—the fulfilment of the new task, the conquest of Europe.

The German generals know that it requires hundreds of thousands of overseers and tens of thousands of censors and propagandists and teachers and spies and secret agents, and scores of concentration camps, and "labor fronts" with millions of members to have a "militant community organized for constant war." They realize, in other words, that an old-fashioned conservative party would never have a chance of forcing the German people into the desired mold. Nor would such a party have any chance of recruiting mass support. Any post-Hitler regime would have to have the backing either of the anti-Nazis or of the well-organized Nazis. A conservative generals' regime—if there still exist conservative generals—would have neither. Anti-Nazis would not voluntarily support it, and the entrenched Nazis would never collaborate with it except under orders from Hitler or his recognized successor.

The fact is that an officers' regime would be compelled to rely on the support of the Nazis. It would not only need the Nazi personnel; it would also—and this is what means most to the rest of the world—be dependent on Nazi ideas and Nazi political techniques. The network, the organization to keep the masses in subjection, would have to be continued. And this mixture of terrorism, dynamism, and demagoguery, by any other name, is still National Socialism.

The attempt to oust Hitler might be made. The generals might try it if they had reason to believe that by so doing they could make peace with the United Nations and set themselves up as masters of post-war Germany. And as long as they believe that the Allied leaders consider this a war between generals—a war fought by honorable military men—they will continue in their arrogant conviction that the United Nations might at some strategic moment be induced to forget their "irregularities" and accept them as equals.

Even then it is doubtful whether the generals could get rid of Hitler without his being party to the conspiracy. But obviously a plot to eliminate Hitler in which Hitler connived would amount to no more than a Nazi plot to win a negotiated peace. It would be unmasked and rejected by the United Nations. On the other hand, should the German generals actually try to overthrow Hitler in the contest to see who would be first on the draw, the chances are overwhelming that they would be shot down by the Gestapo. The situation, then, is clear. Neither a conspiracy with Hitler nor a conspiracy against him seems to offer any hope of bringing the war to quicker end. As was the case from the beginning, there is only one way out: to fight Nazi Germany until the generals and Hitler go down together.

To the Czechs

[*Voskovec and Werich, the most popular Czech comedians, are now broadcasting regularly to their native country under the auspices of the Office of War Information. We reproduce one of their five-minute skits and an excerpt from a longer script which invokes once more the Good Soldier Schweik in the service of a free Czechoslovakia. The cartoon, by A. Hoffmeister, the Czech artist already well known to Nation readers, is his Christmas card for 1942 to Voskovec and Werich, to whom he has been sending cartoon greetings since 1927. (Emanuel Moravec is a Czech Quisling.)*]

Moravec and the St. Bernard

VOSKOVEC: Now look at that. I haven't even noticed that you have a dog. A cute little dog, too. Sort of very horizontal. It's a dachshund, isn't it?

Werich: It's a Gestapo dog, a new breed.

V.: I see . . . a wicked little dog . . . a cute little monster. . . . What's his name?

W.: Himmler. A silly name, isn't it? But you can't forget it.

V.: Come here, you little rascal. Does he bite?

W.: He does. He's mad. A police dog.

V.: A police dog? This?

W.: A secret police dog, of course. You can't tell him from an ordinary dog. See the idea?

V.: Now tell me. I thought you had a greyhound, didn't you?

W.: Well—yes and no. He used to be a St. Bernard, but he lost weight.

V.: You don't have him any more?

W.: No. He's been sent to a concentration camp.

V.: Now what do you think of that? A dog in a concentration camp! What happened?

W.: Well, it's a long story. I live in the same house with Emanuel Moravec.

V.: Wait a minute. Moravec—that name sounds familiar to me.

W.: It sounds familiar to lots of people, and they're not likely to forget it, either.

V.: I know. Former colonel and demagogue—now civilian

and traitor. But how did your dog get into the concentration camp and what's Moravec got to do with it?

W.: Well, as I told you, Moravec and I live in the same house. And the dog, too.

V.: Well?

W.: Well, there are German guys coming to see Moravec all the time.

V.: Of course. They've got to bring him all those decrees about closing Czech schools and universities so he can sign them. And bring him money. I know about Moravec. But tell me about your dog.

W.: Well, the dog is out in the lobby. Moravec comes by. "Heil Hitler!" he says. The dog just stands there.

V.: Good for the dog! I like him.

W.: Moravec doesn't. He starts yelling. Everybody's got to salute the Führer, nobody can have any special privileges. To make a long story short, Moravec decides to teach my dog how to raise his right front leg.

V.: Did he succeed?

W.: He did. But one night Moravec comes home with some German guys. The dog's on the sidewalk. Moravec and the Germans raise their arms and shout "Heil Hitler!" The dog gets confused and instead of raising the right front leg he raises the left hind leg. Now he's in a concentration camp.

V.: How about Moravec? Did he get rusty?

W.: Not quite, but he's marked, anyway. Forever.

Schweik Serves the Germans

WERICH: Get this, Herr Goebbels, there are only two kinds of service in the Czech military tradition; and the enemy is scared of both. As long as a Czech soldier is fighting for what he believes in he's a patriot. But if he's forced to he turns into a Schweik; and

then, Herr Goebbels, he is a very dangerous private. The Good Soldier Schweik wrecked the empire. You watch him. Even if he strips off his uniform, Schweik will remain Schweik. He doesn't sleep. Isn't that so, Schweik?

Schweik (Voskovec): By your leave, sir, I am always at my battle station, and I always try to do my best to satisfy the gentlemen from the Gestapo.

Werich: Does that



mean, Mr. Schweik, you serve the Germans faithfully?

Schweik: By your leave, sir, absolutely. As that bugler from Pilsen used to say . . . when he started to sing Ave Maria at three in the morning to the tune of He Was Standing at the Cannon he kept arguing that he had a perfect ear. Orders is orders, sir. Like the other day in the labor camp, the officers explained to us that there is a shortage of iron in the Reich and that we must take very good care to protect all iron instruments from dampness, so they won't rust. I thought immediately of all those rails in the station yard. They are so very much exposed to the weather. They might get rusty, too. So we took all that synthetic fat out of the freight cars that were ready to go to the front and we spread the fat real thick over the rails. Well, the next day there was trouble, because the locomotives slipped on that stuff and they couldn't get going at all. And before it wore off two munition trains got delayed a day or so and the commander of the station, a certain Captain Schlaghammer from Dresden, had a fit of epileptics. But anyhow the main thing is that the rails didn't get rusty and the Führer's orders were carried out.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

DR. GOEBBELS is not rated so great a genius as he was some months ago. Success, it has been discovered, is not so much dependent on propaganda as propaganda is on success. It is easy to keep up morale when everything is going well, but words have little effect when things are going badly; propaganda cannot make headway against the contrary winds of fact. Goebbels, when he was so much feared and admired, was 90 per cent the appendage of the great Nazi upswing and only 10 per cent its creator. The supposedly unlimited power of pure propaganda is limited after all.

In one field, that of short-wave broadcasts directed to the world outside the Fortress of Europe, the propaganda office practically admits that any effort is useless under present circumstances. Apparently it does not even try to find a new line to fit the new situation. It goes on talking big just as formerly. With no regard for the facts, it asserts crudely, "The Russians are having no success whatever"; or, in spite of the rout of the Afrika Korps, "Rommel has a big surprise up his sleeve."

But internal propaganda is another matter. Evidently a fundamental change in the material given out for home consumption has been decided on. The complacency, the insolent pride, the announcements of glorious events just ahead have been given up. Instead, the public is urged to be patient, to persevere to the end. Of course it is always told that the war will ultimately be won by Germany. But favorable predictions for the immediate future are carefully avoided.

The kernel of truth in the news given out is wrapped round with many of the old trimmings. Emphasis is laid on the difficulties, dissensions, treacheries, and crimes of Germany's enemies. In England, Germans were told, there were no such extra allotments of food as they had for the Christmas season. The English had Darlan murdered because he was a tool of the Americans, with whom they are in bitter competition for colonies. The American soldiers rap the Moslem women for sport.

It was in connection with the Russian campaign that the change in domestic propaganda first became evident. As late as December 7, 1942, on a radio round-up of the three foreign ministers of the Axis, Ribbentrop declared that Russia had ceased to be a danger. Then, on December 13, the highbrow *Frankfurter Zeitung* suddenly offered a new version of events, suggesting rather tentatively that the war had become one of "attrition." The war against Russia, continued that paper—and this was indeed sensational—"will not be decided in a short time but will drag on for years."

On the next day General Dittmar, the chief military commentator, explained that the struggle against the Soviets was like the struggle of Heracles against the Hydra. "No sooner is one head chopped off than two appear." "The number of tanks the Russians still have," he said, "is simply inconceivable, and of course they have fabulous masses of men." He found the only favorable elements in the situation to be (1) the incomparably greater material losses suffered by the Russians, and (2) the resultant greater damage to their morale. Sometime, because Germany has the advantage in these respects, the contest is bound to be decided in its favor. "Every engagement," he went on, "is, according to Clausewitz, the bloody and destructive equalizing of opposing forces, both physical and moral. Whoever has the most physical and moral force left at the end is the victor. The great battle in the east will be fought out according to that law." And when will the end come? No answer.

Goebbels himself in his Christmas talk followed the new line. "Fate is subjecting us to a prolonged test to see whether we are called to lead." In his weekly article of the same date he wrote: "We are obliged to pay dearly for the sins and omissions of our fathers and grandfathers. Because they indulged in the luxury of an extremely individualistic national life, we face tasks almost beyond man's strength. We are spared nothing. History is without mercy, and the nation must make up for past shortcomings by hard work and sacrificial battles."

Such is the course forced on German propaganda by the unfavorable winds of defeat. In order not to be given the lie by the facts when they are inevitably revealed, it has to paint a somber picture of the future. Gloom about the war now is a necessity if the promise of a happy ending is to be believed.

A Letter to Mr. Welles

MR. SUMNER WELLES
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Sir: The declaration of a state of siege in the Republic of Bolivia last week brings to a head a fundamental issue with regard to the policy of the State Department toward the people of Latin America which can no longer be ignored. I address this letter to you because the formulation and application of this policy has been mainly in your hands during the past eight years.

The state of siege declared in Bolivia, in my judgment, is the result of popular resentment against certain practices of corporations, especially in the mining industry, toward the workers. It is also the result of mass discontent amounting almost to despair because of rapidly increasing living costs and the scarcity of basic foods.

You are aware that for many years the Bolivian workers have sought relief from a condition which kept 90 per cent or more of the people of that country in a state of chronic misery and economic degradation by seeking the enactment of a labor code which would open legal avenues for the improvement of these conditions. The code, drafted three years ago, was being revised by the Bolivian Congress and was to have been enacted by December 8 of this year. The nature of this code is indicated by the fact that through its operation the Bolivian workers hoped to obtain the payment of wages on time, the right of collective bargaining, minimum wages, and the strengthening of mediation and arbitration.

I have received information to the effect that while the new labor code was under discussion, the American ambassador to Bolivia, Mr. Pierre Boal, communicated to the President of Bolivia, General Peñaranda, the views of the American embassy with regard to the legislation then pending before Congress.

In these conversations Ambassador Boal did not venture to give instructions to President Peñaranda, but it is clear that the Ambassador's observations were intended to diminish the prospects of passage of the labor code. The Ambassador clearly agreed with the position of the large mine operators that the new code would impose disagreeable administrative expenses on the companies; that it was desirable not to pay earned wages on time in order to compel the workers to remain on the job; that the enactment of the code would compel the companies to demand higher prices from the United States government for tin and other essential materials; that collective bargaining would be detrimental rather than helpful to production. . . .

I believe that democracy and production must go up or down together. The contrary is the thesis of totalitarianism. For this reason I am prepared to state that the attitude and point of view represented by Ambassador Boal will lead to a further decline of production in Bolivia and in other parts of Latin America as well. The physical reserves of the Latin American workers, especially in the vital industries, are already so low that the systematic opposition to better housing, higher wages, adequate medical attention, efficient training, collective bargaining, and proper representation before pub-

lic administrative bodies will drive the workers to adopt every form of active and passive resistance. In my judgment, they will be justified in so doing.

The war-production program in Latin America involves fundamental questions of physical well-being, of morale, of effective use of all the human and technical resources of the Americas. I submit that the policy of Ambassador Boal has made it impossible to attack some of these questions through the use of agencies of the United States and through the use of means and methods in behalf of the common welfare which many Latin American governments have already tested and applied. It is also my deeply held conviction that as long as the present policy continues, the economic development of Latin America through industrialization wherever possible, the stabilization of Latin American economy through agricultural progress, and other measures which have been amply discussed in inter-American conferences will not be attained.

I feel impelled to dissent vigorously from the present policy of this government in Bolivia for another reason. Statements have been made in the press and on the radio in this country to the effect that the strikes in Bolivia are caused by Nazi agents. What is the result, if we allow this interpretation to gain currency among the American people? First, attention will be diverted from the real causes of unrest, namely, bad housing, lack of food, disease, and poverty. Second, it will be easier to label all dissenters and the genuine representatives of popular sentiment as "Nazis." I assert that the Nazi agents are not causing something which has its roots in basic economic maladjustment. The Nazis are merely taking clever advantage of something which they hope to use to discredit democracy.

This is attained by the simple process of contrasting the public statements of President Roosevelt and Vice-President Wallace with the everyday, practical, and immediate effects of American policy in the Latin American countries. There has been established in the minds of the Latin American workers an identity, a cause-and-effect relationship, between the suppression of the right of free speech, the negation of the right of collective bargaining, the dispossession of small farmers, the freezing of wages, the soaring cost of living and the courageous doctrine of the Four Freedoms enunciated by the President of the United States, reiterated by the Vice-President, and stressed by you in several important speeches in recent months. . . .

In consequence, as an American citizen of Mexican birth; as one who is profoundly disturbed by the increasing dislocation of production of essential raw materials attributable directly to antiquated and narrow interests; as one who believes that the Chief Executive of this government, the Congress of the United States, and the people of this country are entitled to decide whether continental solidarity must be bought at the price being currently paid by the workers of Bolivia—for these reasons I protest formally against the conduct of Ambassador Boal.

This protest is filed with you by me on my personal and individual responsibility. My position as chief of the Division of Labor and Social Information of the Pan-American Union does not in any way imply that my statement reflects any opinion except my own.

ERNESTO GALARZA

Washington, D. C., December 21, 1942

BOOKS and the ARTS

ALICE JAMES

BY DIANA TRILLING

THE novelist Henry James stood at the elbow of Henry James the brother as he wrote of Alice's Journal: "It puts before me what I was tremendously conscious of in her lifetime—that the extraordinary intensity of her will and personality really would have made the equal, the reciprocal life of a 'well' person—in the usual world—almost impossible for her—so that her disastrous, her tragic health was in a manner the only solution for her of the practical problem of life—as it suppressed the element of equality, reciprocity, etc."

It is 1894. After twenty-five years of invalidism, the last torturing seven of them spent in England, the sister of Henry James has died in 1892. Now Henry has received her diary—it is her only literary monument—and he is writing to William. He goes on: "Inevitably she simplified too much, shut up in her sickroom, exercised her wondrous vigor of judgment on too small a scrap of what really surrounded her." He is specifically referring to Alice's attacks upon England, which are likely to reinforce William's too ardent Americanism. And as always when Henry James addresses this older brother, his remarks have the curious trace of defensiveness that William James seemed to provoke in the rest of the family. But beyond defense either of England or of himself, these are the comments of the novelist whom William could chide for not calling a spade a spade but who dares to face the fullest implications of what the down-right William refers to only as the "over-vehemence" of their sister's Journal. Henry James expresses himself with his usual reticence, but there is no question that in a few sentences he has uncovered the root connection between Alice James's wonderful "free" intellect and the invalidism of which her Journal is the tragic record.

Of course any of the James family could bring an abundant personal experience to the understanding of nervous suffering. In the history of literature there never was a family of so much shared misery and talent as the Jameses; by what miracle of accident or strength the two oldest brothers were able to rescue themselves as they did still remains an investigation for psychiatry. The elder Henry James battled throughout his own life an abnormal depression of spirits that reproduced itself in all five of his children—perhaps most nakedly in poor Bob, victim of such unrelieved alternations of despair and exaltation, perhaps most poignantly in Alice, who even in disease had the sad creativity to add to the family pattern of melancholy a whole fierce range of private symptoms. It is interesting to conjecture why the family strain appears so variously in the five children, and a clue is suggested in the mere order of their birth. It was a tightly knit family and a family lavish with affection, but in autobiography and letter each of the children testifies to the hieratical struggle of early life—Henry trying to catch up with William; Wilky and Bob struggling against having

both William and Henry ahead of them; Alice, the beloved baby sister, blinded by the whole shining galaxy of superior wisdom and experience. Alice, youngest of five, surrendered when she was only nineteen. She had been ailing before, but in young womanhood ill health took over completely, not to release her until she died at the age of forty-four.

The anxieties and frightening compulsions of childhood developed into hysteria. Through the years a body that was never very robust slowly capitulated to psychic stress. Shortly before Alice James's death, when a cancer was discovered—the "longed-for palpable disease"—the medical authority of the period (for what it is worth) could list the following appalling diagnosis: nervous hyperaesthesia, spinal neurosis (paralysis of the legs), and rheumatic gout of the stomach (psychic tension, one gathers, hitting unbearably at the pit of the stomach). She was prey, as well, to constant dizziness and fainting, and an acute form of migraine. In the correspondence of the Jameses, while the various anguishes of the four brothers sound like a motif of doom through the unfolding histories of their careers, Alice's ill health is the whole and only music of her existence.

But if invalidism was to be her career, Alice James could still illuminate it with her share of the family genius. Part of her heritage went into being an exemplary patient, but as time passed, and especially when Alice at last found herself largely bedridden, any hope of cure a deception she could not permit herself, it was no longer sufficient that only this aspect of her talent be recognized, or that her intellectual gifts be known only to the few people who visited her sickroom. Three years before her death, humbly and therapeutically, she began a Journal: "It may bring relief as an outlet to that geyser of emotions, sensations, speculations, and reflections which perpetually ferments within my poor old carcass for its sins."

But then slowly, unfailingly, in the way of such documents, the Journal comes to reveal that it has more than a therapeutic purpose. We begin to see that in this random record of suffering and of intellectual triumph over suffering the daughter of Henry James, Sr., and the sister of William and Henry is making her last desperate stand for her earned place in the family hierarchy of distinction. Alice's tongue is quite too elaborately in her cheek as she addresses the "unborn generations"; self-mockery is always her saving public face, and she is careful to laugh at herself first before the world can laugh at her—proof enough that it is the world and not "relief" with which she is primarily concerned. Or there is the day when she sees herself for the first time in print: it is a letter to the papers, and indeed a poor sample of her powers of observation and expression, but in the excitement of "publication" Alice writes in her Journal: "How fortunate for the male babes that I am physically so debile!" Obviously, she is being ironic; but she is also making a confession. Her debility is an escape, however complicated, from the need to rival brothers of unrivaled brilliance.

And no doubt this is what vaguely disturbs William, the psychologist brother, in the "over-vehemence" of Alice's Journal. But Henry, the novelist brother, takes full in the face, as he himself would say, all the implications of Alice's intensity of statement, penetrating his sister's ruthless intelligence to discover the privilege of the invalid who does not have to live "the reciprocal life of the 'well' person." The Journal, record of a life from which the elements of equality and reciprocity have so long been absent, too often has the tone of a compendium of afterthoughts, reminding us of those wonderful retorts we can all think up after the occasion, its reflections too perfected, its answers—by just the distance between the world and the sickroom—too devastating.

In this connection it is interesting to compare Alice James's diary with the poetry of Emily Dickinson. Here was another woman who lived her life emotionally and physically apart from the world. She was a woman whom Alice very much admired, and, in fact, Alice's prose is sometimes reminiscent of Emily Dickinson's verse. For example, there is her description of a decayed gentlewoman: "She had the mental range of an ant—not a dear little burnished, definite ant who could tell you if he only would, with such precision, all the architectural tragedies of his career; but a blurred, vague ant, if such a thing is possible." But significantly, the only time Alice quotes Emily Dickinson in her Journal it is to repeat the lines, "How dreary to be somebody; How public, like a frog," a notation that is immediately followed by this entry: "Dr. Tuckey asked me the other day whether I had written for the press, I vehemently disclaimed the imputation. How sad it is that the purely innocuous should always be supposed to have the trail of the family serpent upon them." Both women, that is, protested the life of public recognition too violently, just as each of them inevitably demanded, in what she sent into the world, too much attention for *herself*; but it is a common failing among women of talent. The essential difference between them is that in Emily Dickinson the writer was transcendent over the woman, and her poetry was the distillation of her first and best private emotions, whereas Alice James spent her first and best energies in ill health.

Alice's method, then, was not the method of poetry, but neither was it the method of fiction, and with the widest latitude of sympathy we have only to compare the Journal with Henry James's Prefaces to see how little she shared with Henry what we can call the novelistic view of life. There is a common family store of perception, imagination, and, above all, gifts of style. Alice, too, can write that wonderful educated James prose with its incandescent accuracy and then its sudden flights of homeliness; and when she complains to her diary that "H. is always saying this, but it jumped at my eye from the first, and is therefore an original, if not unique, utterance," she has to add: "H., by the way, has embodied in his pages many jewels fallen from my lips, which he steals in the most unblushing way, saying, simply, that he knew they had been said by the family, so it did not matter." But unlike Henry, it is Alice James's critical rather than her creative faculties that are fed by her small scraps of experience. Humor she has aplenty, and a developed sense of anecdote. She is enormously interested in

people—but for what they stand for, not for what they are. In fact, in her feeling that life is something to be ordered and coped with, rather than explored, Alice is closer to William James than she is to Henry, just as William is closer to their father than Henry is to either of them. William writes: "Every good experience ought to be interpreted in practice," and Alice writes: "Every hour I live, I become an intenser devotee to *common sense*!" Or in another passage she speaks of the "congenital faith . . . whose only ritual is daily conduct." This is of course in the paternal line, variously carried on by all the children of the elder James except Henry, who never seems to need these working principles. And of the five children, it is Alice who most faithfully preserves the family tradition.

The English years, the period in which Alice is writing her Journal, are the years of Henry's abortive attempts to be a playwright. He is very willing to act as his sister's emissary in the great world, but he is as busy as he is devoted; and he always has a way of saving himself from *too* much family entanglement. Alice is necessarily limited to books and newspapers for a large part of her intellectual stimulus, and it is only natural for her to dip back into memory for the shaping instruments of judgment. She recalls a childhood in which the most ordinary meal-time conversation scaled the brilliant heights, and she can be forgiven her bitterness at being reduced, in the end, to the company of a nurse. The Journal is remarkably free of simple reminiscence, but more clearly than anything in the writing of either William or Henry it echoes the formative years.

The Journal is therefore much concerned with politics, and after her death Henry, in the same letter to William from which I have already quoted, will comment on the career his sister might have had as a "feminine 'political force,'" if her health had permitted. And her political tone is the tone of the old Newport-Cambridge-Concord days when Henry James, Sr., finally found around Boston the group with whom his own moral fervor could find community. The pages of Alice James's Journal ring with sharp comment on the English political scene: the diary might be subtitled the Journal of a Passionate Democrat and might have been written back in the Civil War days, when Wilky and Bob had gone off to fight and at home their family sought comfort from anxiety in its passion for freedom and equality. Not that the Journal is "old-fashioned," read even today. Alice's politics have the note of modern formulation; or rather, they have the note of the formulation, say, of the 1930's, before social and political thinking in the democracies bowed to the exigencies of the present war. Henry James speaks of his sister's radicalism as "her most distinguishing feature almost—which, in her, was absolutely direct and original." Direct it certainly was; and it was surely original in at least this sense: that she was not likely to be learning her opinions from the few people who called on her during this period in which she was keeping her Journal. But for the rest, so was all the thinking of Henry James, Sr., whether on politics or religion (another subject on which his daughter equals him in passion), absolutely direct and original. And if, for insight into the *emotion* of radicalism, the Journal can hardly stand comparison with Henry James's own "proletarian" novel, "The Princess Casamassima,"

Henry is still right in proclaiming the force and accuracy with which his sister both drew and applied her political conclusions.

She writes of May Day, for example: "Could anything exhibit more beautifully the solidarity of the race than that, by combining to walk through the streets on the same day, these starvelings should make emperors, kings, presidents, and millionaires tremble the world over?" The thought, on another day, of the workmen of London gathering in all their strength to protest the eight-hours question gives her "an illogical feminine satisfaction that all my seven per cents and six per cents . . . have melted into fours; I don't feel as if four per cent is quite so base!" The bedridden invalid for whom the returns in a local election can bring on a terrible nervous attack still can wish to have seen "a few of the faces of these masters of the world in whose hands our material future lies, who can say how immediately."

The comparisons between England and America are all to the credit of America—and how this must have troubled Henry and pleased William!—but it is not because Alice James is chauvinistic about the country of her birth. America is simply a good touchstone, just as Ireland, country of her grandparents' birth, is an even better one. "She was really an Irishwoman," Henry will comment, "transplanted, transfigured—yet none the less fundamentally national." On the subject of Home Rule her emotions are violent, and she finds "the behavior of the Unionist and Tory is simply the *bête* carried to its supreme expression." She is appalled by the "all-pervasive sense of pharisaism in the British constitution of things," and sums up the British picture in a memorable page of invective:

A boneless church, broadening itself out, up to date, . . . the docility with which the classes enslave themselves to respectability or non-respectability, as the 'good form' of the present may be; the 'sense of their betters' in the masses; the passivity with which the workingman allows himself to be patted and legislated out of all independence; then the profound irreconcilable in the bone and sinew conviction that outlying regions are their preserves, for they alone of the human races massacre savages out of pure virtue.

But none of the Jameses is anything if not fair, and she appends to this last: "It would ill become Americans to reflect upon the treatment of aboriginal races; but I never heard it suggested that our hideous dealing with the Indians was brotherly love masquerading under the disguise of pure 'cussedness.'"

At least on the political scene one can be glad for a person like Alice James that she lived when she did, not fifty years later. But on the medical scene she lived too soon—although long enough to know that she had lived too soon. And perhaps nothing is more heart-breaking than the moment so close to the end of her life when Alice James learns that there is a new psychotherapy, hypnosis, and writes in her Journal: "And now the vast field of therapeutic possibilities is opened up to me, just at the moment when I have passed far beyond the workings of their beneficent laws, . . . this retarded discovery made the more complete and 'this-worldly' by the agent taking to itself the form and direction which, from experience, I learned twenty-four years ago was the some-day-to-be-revealed secret—of sus-

pending for the time from his duties the individual watchdog, worn out with his ceaseless vigil to maintain the sanity of the modern complicated mechanism." Not only has she learned, that is, that there is hypnosis, but the scientific sanction of hypnosis permits her to voice her own twenty-four-year-old intuition of the still unknown therapy of psychoanalysis. By this time, however, she has a cancer and is dying; soon enough the watchdog will cease his vigil over her sanity, and Alice James, trained never to admit defeat in her lifetime, will be very glad that at last the struggle is over.

For indeed, like a dark thread, her anticipation of this final release has always woven itself through even the brightest pages of her Journal, and it is only when we recall the attitude of the entire James family to death, or, for that matter, the attitude toward death of so many of her father's old Concord group, that Alice appears less *personally* morbid. We remember, for instance, the strange letters of congratulation that each of the Jameses wrote to whatever member of the family was currently approaching his end, and the strange parallels to these letters in the Emerson family correspondence. Or we recall old Miss Emerson riding around Concord dressed in her shroud, so that if death should meet her suddenly, she herself would meet death properly attired. Alice had learned well, from her New England childhood, the lessons of political, social, and religious freedom, but she had also learned well the lesson of living life in anticipation of its final solution. And surely she can be understood for wanting her own life, that had been so burdensome, to be finally done with.

Cities in the Post-War World

CAN OUR CITIES SURVIVE? AN ABC OF URBAN PROBLEMS, THEIR ANALYSIS, THEIR SOLUTIONS. By José Luis Sert. Harvard University Press. \$5.

THIS consolidated report of the C. I. A. M. (International Congress of Modern Architecture) was not inspired by the present crisis. But events are giving it a unique urgency. The reconstruction of cities will be one of our essential tasks tomorrow. First of all we shall have to repair destruction on a scale which staggers belief. Then the awakened social sense will not, we trust, tolerate very long either the slum or the hideousness of the "model tenement." Finally, in the perilous shifting from a war to a peace economy, rehousing may provide a cushion, a much-needed directed activity.

Directed it must be: we know the results of anarchic building booms, like the catastrophic suburban developments in Paris after the last war. We need technical preparations, actual blueprints; we need most of all psychological preparation, the will to rebuild intelligently. San Francisco is afflicted with a preposterous plan: straight streets scaling steep hills with no regard for contours. The central part of the city was destroyed in 1906. But ignoring Burnham's indications, dynamic, hard-headed business men, with the perfect business blend of hustle and shortsightedness, started rebuilding San Francisco at once, on the old lines; and they are still crowing over it. Such a disaster must not happen again.

This book, with its lavish illustrations, provides the needed knowledge and the needed incentive. It exposes existing evils, and, for *new* developments at any rate, it propounds guiding principles which are hardly controvertible. I hope, for instance, that Le Corbusier will have his way with Nemours, the little Algerian port which has been picked out as the outlet of eastern Morocco. He starts with, practically, a clean slate; and his conception is lucid and bold.

The weakness of the work, and of the whole radical school which dominates the C. I. A. M., lies in the treatment of historical centers. They solve the difficulty by denying it. And it will not be denied.

Be sure that I am not defending pastiche architecture. I am all for "functionalism," provided that, if you define a church as "a prayer factory," you fully understand the "function" you are attempting to serve. Be sure also that I am not advocating the "urbanism" that seeks first of all the grandiose or the picturesque. The first aim of the city is to provide healthy living conditions, not magnificent façades or quaint vistas. But historical aesthetic values do exist. I spent my childhood in dull rooms, in a dull street, but within a quarter-mile of the Louvre, and I was better off than if I had been brought up in a faultless garden city. I do not excuse the dulness; but it could be corrected without changing the character of the urban scene. Light and air we must have at all cost; it may be a little more wasteful to secure them with a six-story limit than with a twelve-story limit. But in most European cities the "waste" would be justified. The Voisin Plan, which proposed to raze the whole of central Paris and erect on the site a series of 700-foot towers, only proved that its author wore heavy and very close-fitting blinkers.

More important still in the transformation of old cities is the social-economic problem. The book points in the right direction: it does not point insistently enough. Our large cities—and this is true of America as well as of Europe—cannot be made fit to live in on the basis of the individual profit motive. Garden suburbs can be created by intelligent capitalists, and pay their way. Occasionally the large-scale reclamation of a blighted area may prove self-liquidating. But, as a rule, so many private interests are so strongly entrenched that reconstruction on an adequate scale is impossible.

Paris, for instance, was planning at last to destroy a certain number of *îlots insalubres*, or unsanitary areas, including the infamous rue de la Huchette. Although it was the merest palliative, the cost was appalling. Paris could not afford to turn its old fortifications into a park belt (M. Sert, by the way, gives a wholly inaccurate account of that operation). It had to adopt the compromise Dausset plan—selling for building lots the site of the fortification proper, and with the proceeds transforming the wider "Military Zone" into gardens. Le Corbusier is right, and central Paris ought to be demolished, not a block but a whole *quartier* at a time; but under the present system such an enterprise is unthinkable. Reduced to one-tenth it would still bankrupt the city.

This is the real question raised by the title: Can our cities survive? Nothing short of a revolution will avail. We are waging war without examining whether it is "financially sound"; we know well enough that it is not. We must do

the right thing by the cities before we measure the cost. Can we afford it? We can, if we have men and materials for the work: the tokens used for bookkeeping purposes are of minor importance. Be assured the operation will be self-liquidating. If our bookkeepers are adaptable enough, we shall liquidate the accounts; if not, we shall liquidate the accountants. If you are not ready to face these consequences, it means squarely that you place the profit motive above the life and happiness of your fellow-men. In a country which claims to be democratic and Christian, this alternative can hardly be considered.

ALBERT GUÉRARD

The Poet's Progress

PERSON, PLACE, AND THING. By Karl Jay Shapiro.
Reynal and Hitchcock. \$2.

KARL JAY SHAPIRO is a poet of remarkable and original gifts. Yet it is possible that the topicality of his poetry—one of its strongest virtues—and the fact that the poet is now a soldier in Australia may distract attention from the literary feat performed in this book. The feat is that of taking the style of Auden and transforming it with an American subject matter, by writing of drugstores, lunch wagons, a conscription camp, a midnight show, a Buick, and many other things equally indigenous.

Most poets begin by taking fire from other poets, and most poets end, sadly enough, in self-imitation. But between the time when the poet is an echoing novice and the time when he is a self-infatuated and tired master, there occurs, if the poet has genuine gifts, a period during which the borrowed or imitated style is gradually altered into something new and strange—as the glove is shaped by the hand, day by day—through the constant pressure of the poet's own and unique subject matter, his own experience. Even in the best poets this wonderful process tends to be broken and uneven. But it proceeds powerfully and serenely in Mr. Shapiro's verse, and the interesting thing is that one can see so clearly several stages of it in this book.

The manner, and especially the diction of Shapiro's writing, is all from Auden. Words such as luck, love, the hostile parents, wound, failure and usages like the personification of places and things occur throughout the book. A stanza such as this one:

What do you care, dear total stranger,
For the successful failure of my safest danger,
My pig in the poke or dog in the manger?
The dead cry *life* and stagger up the hill;

* * *

But is there still the incorrigible city where
The well enjoy their poverty and the young
Worship the gutter? Is Wednesday still alive
And Tuesday wanting terribly to sin?

or, for a briefer example, a line like "It baffles the foreigner like an idiom" is purely Audenesque in style. And yet the matter is wholly Shapiro's, and the latter line is the beginning of a fine poem about a drugstore, in which Shapiro manages to make baseball scores, coca-cola bottles, lipstick, and lending-library books relevant and operative parts of the poem. In most of the other young American poets who have

been subjected to Auden's strong influence, Auden's perceptions as well as his words are echoed; in the course of a poem we can sometimes even see Auden's perceptions displacing those native to the poet. In Shapiro, on the contrary, the borrowed style is an aid and not an obstacle; the result is a growing originality.

The source of this originality is undoubtedly Shapiro's inexhaustible power of observation. He can see a great deal, he has taken a long, cunning, and intelligent look at the important objects of modern life, and he has serious and important feelings about what he sees. Yet this strength has, like most virtues, its danger and its weakness. There is not only a sameness of tone and feeling in a good many of these poems but also a tendency to rely too much on dramatic observation, organized merely as a succession of items, to solve all problems and provide the insight which the subject requires.

Observation is not insight, although there is little insight without observation. And this makes one thing of the title of Shapiro's book, which I take to be the declaration of a worthy and humble joy in observation, and of Shapiro's prose Note on Poetry in last year's "Five Young American Poets," where the title was first used and where Shapiro expressed a strange hatred of "the dictatorship of criticism" and of general ideas. The statement reached its peak in the extraordinary phrase, "America, the word that is the chief enemy of modern poetry." This is not only in direct contradiction to the excellent use of abstractions, like America and Europe, in Shapiro's verse, but it suggests a serious immaturity in Shapiro's attitude as a poet. The poet can no more afford to hate abstractions or general ideas than he can afford to hate the concrete and the particular. He needs them both, and he needs them at the same time if his verse is to be both vivid and significant. Perhaps Shapiro hates abstractions like America for the same reason that the hero of "A Farewell to Arms" hated words like Democracy, Justice, Liberty, Self-Sacrifice, and Courage; they have been used by politicians and by bad poets. But Democracy, Justice, Self-Sacrifice, Courage, Europe, and America are the abstract and often abused terms for the deep-seated values which inspire Shapiro, at his best, both to rage and to sympathy.

Other abstractions, often capitalized by Shapiro, are necessary parts of Shapiro's best poems. But more than that, it is the abstraction, America, and another concrete abstraction—if the reader will forgive me this true paradox—Europe, which are just as responsible for Shapiro's being in Australia as the troopship which took him there.

The chief enemy of modern poetry is not a word, certainly not a word like America, or a use of abstract terms. Two of the many enemies of all poetry are the inability to see things clearly and exactly, a defect from which Shapiro will never suffer, and, on the other hand, the inability to generalize and make universal one's experience by means of abstractions. The poet has to keep many activities going, but one activity as necessary as any other is *to keep thinking all the time*. It is not easy, but it is necessary. Fortunately Mr. Shapiro's practice is far superior to his theory, so that what we have here is a book which everyone interested in modern poetry ought to read.

DELMORE SCHWARTZ

A Native of Civilization

THE TURNING POINT. By Klaus Mann. L. B. Fischer. \$3.

TO TELL the story of a German who wanted to be a European, of a European who wanted to be a citizen of the world," thus in part Klaus Mann defines his purpose in writing his autobiography. He has succeeded admirably, and has also told the story of a man who could be civilized without becoming decadent.

If he had known from his birth in 1906 that he had only about twenty-five years to participate in European culture before its eclipse, he could hardly have made better use of his time. He had a good start, to be sure; in his first eighteen years, spent in the home of Thomas Mann in Munich, he imbibed more of that culture than most men get in twice that number. But Klaus's distinguished paternity was a heavy cross for him to bear, and Thomas Mann's patriarchal tolerance must have been infuriating to a member of that younger generation for whom rebellion was a religion. At eighteen the son fled the paternal roof to make a literary career for himself in Berlin, using an assumed name as his declaration of independence. Sometimes his sister Erika shared his adventures, notably on a madcap trip to America, which somehow expanded into a trip around the world. Her field was the theater and his was literature, but now and then they trespassed upon each other's provinces.

Mann started his career in Berlin, but before long Europe was his home and Paris its hearth. The middle portion of his book is really an essay on the intellectual life of his time, with the events of his personal life noted briefly here and there among great chunks of loosely knit but stimulating discourse. He talks about the ideas which were taking shape in his books or in those of his friends, who included half the distinguished young writers of France, Germany, England, and Austria, and some older men, notably André Gide, whom Mann considered the foremost living writer in Europe. He gives a whole chapter to the gods of his intellectual Olympus: Plato, Nietzsche, Whitman, and Novalis are the four titans, surrounded by concentric circles of lesser gods. Of political events and social currents he takes little note in this period (up to 1930); they were simply not part of his world. This era of happy isolation ends approximately two-thirds of the way through the book, when he quotes from his own writing (1931): "I don't want to understand this kind of radicalism [National Socialism]: I disapprove of it." Such blindness seems truly shocking in this seasoned writer, this much-traveled man of the world, at home in the cultured circles of half a dozen capitals; here the reader must remind himself again that the Klaus Mann who wrote these lofty words was not yet twenty-five!

Mann has a rare faculty for conveying atmosphere, and he uses it most effectively in describing the sense of impending doom which spread over Central Europe just before its civilization finally succumbed. The Mann tribe, now fully alive to the peril, raised their voices in protest against the rising tide of Nazi popularity. It seems to me that Klaus Mann might well have termed this period the turning-point in his life, when he began to forsake his chosen role of critic and interpreter for that of man of action. He places it ten

years later, when he went to a United States army recruiting station and asked to be put into uniform. This act was indeed the outward and visible sign of his inner conversion; it was the burning of his boats, and to him the significance is enormous. Yet such a mighty metamorphosis, such a response to a titanic convulsion in the affairs of men, does not take place, of course, at a single point, but in a great half-circle.

That half-circle is the road which Mann has traveled in the last dozen years, always with an amazing power to adjust himself to each new catastrophe and to harness his exuberant powers to new purposes. The last lap of the road, told in the staccato passages of his diary, is perhaps the most remarkable portion of a remarkable life. An exile in America, he made himself master of the English tongue because he knew that it was the idiom of the one audience left to him, and therefore the only medium in which he could find expression. His conquest over our language, now greater than that of many native writers, is symbolic of his conquest over circumstances which have tossed other human beings about like the splinters of a vanished shipwreck. Yet in one sense he is not an exile; he is a native of civilization itself, and as long as it endures anywhere he will not be stateless.

BETSY HUTCHISON

Ambassador Grew's Report

REPORT FROM TOKYO. By Joseph C. Grew. Simon and Shuster. \$1.50.

REPORT FROM TOKYO is a collection of speeches made by Former Ambassador Grew after his return to the United States and arranged with certain supplementary material in book form.

The moral of most of Mr. Grew's speeches is expressed in one extraordinary sentence in the first chapter, "... we are up against a people whose morale will not and cannot be broken even by successive defeats, who will certainly not be broken by economic hardships . . . and who can be brought to earth only by physical defeat, by being ejected physically from the areas which they have temporarily conquered or by a progressive attrition of their naval power and merchant marine which will finally result in cutting off their homeland from all connection with and access to those outlying areas—by complete defeat in battle."

In later chapters the author discusses some of the sources of enemy strength, many of which are to be found in the social and cultural uniformity, the sacrificial fanaticism based on a sense of divine mission, and the totalitarianism which was a feature of Japanese life long before the word was in use elsewhere. He also provides a condensed account of our earlier relations with Japan and our Chinese ally, of Japanese weaknesses, of the period of aggression and broken promises which followed the Shidehara era. Our past trade he defends on the realistic ground that a breaking off of commercial relations before 1941 would have meant war—a circumstance few of the would-be boycotters were then prepared to face.

The close student of world affairs will find little new in "Report from Tokyo," but it affords an excellent antidote for the decade of muddled and wishful thinking which preceded Pearl Harbor.

DONALD W. MITCHELL

AMUSEMENTS

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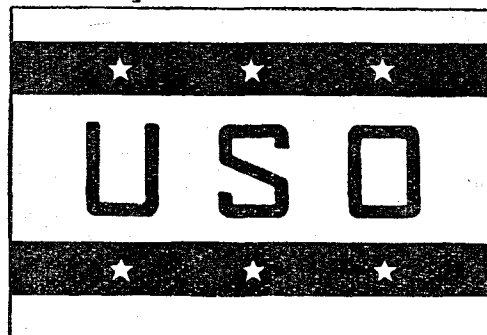
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When You Give to the U S O

Marlowe, Definitive

THE TRAGICALL HISTORY OF CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE. By John Bakeless. The Harvard University Press. Two Volumes. \$7.50.

I HAVE an idea that Christopher Marlowe can be considered responsible for something more than six hyperbolic plays and a couple of marvelous poems: I suspect that he is also more than a little responsible for the popular conception of what I am reduced to terming "the poet." Certainly the majority of necessary characteristics happen to be present, including the ethical irresponsibility, the slightly too beautiful name, the impecuniousness, the death at an early age, the masterpieces turned out with an air of inspired accident, and the rumors of emotional immorality. So that when I contemplate the private life of Christopher Marlowe through the positively microscopic examination of his latest biographer, what principally surprises me is not how little but how much I seem to know about him. This affects me as remarkable for the simple reason that no one, including John Bakeless, knows very much. Here, for instance, are two large volumes written about a poet who spent twenty-nine years engaged largely in doing things that his biographers cannot ascertain. The facts of life, so far as Christopher Marlowe is concerned, seem to consist simply of his birth, his education, his six plays, his practice of espionage, and his assassination. From this handful of data the scrupulous and patient biographer can construct a kind of cardboard poet who is capable of going through the formal gestures of being alive, composing poems, and dying; but even the biographer, when the facts are so few, has necessarily to admit that the result looks a little theatrical. The ambiguity of biographical uncertainties invites a multiplicity of prejudiced interpretations. It is perfectly possible to present the reader with a Marlowe who looks like a patriotic hero with a gift of the gab, or a Machiavellian cad who eventually throttled himself with his own machinations, or a dramatic poet who lived a melodramatic life.

To the study of Marlowe Dr. John Bakeless has devoted twenty-one years and conducted researches that extended from Bulgaria to Japan. This biography with the rather playful title represents, in fact, more a memorial to the perseverance of the author than a monument to the subject who remains so mysteriously absent from it. I should correct myself: it is not so much that the body of Marlowe is not present as that, if it is present, it has been pretty thoroughly interred beneath the laborious whimsicality of such euphemisms as "the rising young dramatist" (Marlowe); "the young university wit" (Marlowe); "the great business man of Stratford" (Shakespeare); "the redoubtable playwright" (Marlowe); "the weed" (tobacco); "Queen Bess's subjects" (Elizabethans). Personally I prefer Kyd's judgment on Christopher Marlowe: "One so irreligious, intemperate, and cruel of heart."

I also observe Dr. Bakeless to be capable occasionally of an intellectual lack of sophistication which could, I feel, militate against a perfect understanding of Christopher Marlowe. On the subject of what Dr. Bakeless refers to as "his unhealthy interest in unnatural vice," I do not think the following remarks astute:

In "Dido Queen of Carthage" Nashe may be equally responsible with Marlowe. In "Edward II" history and in "Dido" mythology both give authority for the material used. As for the charges [of immorality] against Marlowe by Kyd and Baines, both seem to have been persons likely to be easily shocked, and one strongly suspects Marlowe, perhaps after a little too much wine, of having deliberately set out to shock them.

I would point out to Dr. Bakeless that an author is at liberty to choose his own subjects, that the author of "The Spanish Tragedy" does not seem to me "likely to be easily shocked," and that the proverb *in vino veritas* could apply even to a hypothetical vintage imbibed on a hypothetical occasion.

Nor do I wholly understand the intellectual attitude of a biographer who can bring himself to remark on the matter of Marlowe's acknowledged atheism: "The attacks on Marlowe's religion are far less serious in modern eyes than the charges against his morals." With the incontestible evidence of the Baines documents providing certified proof that Marlowe held the strongest atheistic opinions, it would seem to me that the sentence above should properly refer to "attacks on Marlowe's irreligion," and I cannot think that in "modern eyes" such attacks would be considered "less serious" than charges of moral turpitude. For I understand that the principal privilege of contemporary society is that we are all perfectly free to be both libertines and unbelievers.

It would, however, constitute a serious omission if Dr. Bakeless were not congratulated for including the following clauses from the Baines report on Marlowe's "monstrous and heretical opinions":

That Moses was but a Jugler & that one Heriots being Sir W Raleighs man Can do more than he.

That the first beginning of Religion was only to keep men in awe.

That if there be any god or good religion, then it is the Papistes because the service of god is performed with more ceremonies, as Elevation of the Mass, Shaven crowns, &c. That all Protestants are hypocritical asses.

That all the new testament is filthily written.

To remark of such a documentation of the heretical convictions of a great Elizabethan poet, "[they] read like the wild conversation of a radical young man who took an intense pleasure in making his hearer's flesh creep," affects me, finally, as frivolous. Just as, in a critical sense, it affects me as frivolous that Dr. Bakeless should seek to mitigate Marlowe's vitiations of historical fact in "Tamburlaine" by citing instances of similar manipulation by John Drinkwater in "Abraham Lincoln" and by Sacha Guitry in "Pasteur."

Nevertheless, I feel sure that in spite of such minor quixotries as those enumerated above, and in spite of such stylistic aberrations as the sentence that closes Chapter IV ("At least, however, we know that the clouds were lowering about Marlowe when Ingram Frizier's dagger thrust stilled that restless and unhappy heart forever"), and in spite of the absence of any attempt at a critical evaluation of the subject as poet, I am, nevertheless, sure that this must be one of the most informative books yet written on Christopher Marlowe. Indeed, I hope that the publishers have guessed right, and that this becomes "the definitive life of the dramatist." The biographical needs the apocryphal almost as much as vice versa.

GEORGE BARKER

IN BRIEF

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND. By Basil Willey. Columbia University Press. \$3.75.

The Columbia University Press has imported a small shipment of Basil Willey's "The Seventeenth Century Background," the book to which his "The Eighteenth Century Background," published here last year, is the sequel. The volume on the seventeenth century is probably the better and more important of these two excellent works, not because it exhibits to greater advantage Mr. Willey's powers of lucid exposition but because the material of the seventeenth century is more originaive and interesting than that of the following period. The theme of the book is the problem of appearance and reality, the search for the truth of things as they "really are" and the effect which this dominant concern of science and philosophy had upon religion and poetry. Mr. Willey carries his exposition from Bacon to Locke, dealing admirably with Sir Thomas Browne, Descartes, Hobbes, and the rational theologians. His chapter on Milton is a fine investigation of the influence of the new thought upon heroic poetry, and his postscript on Wordsworth is one of the best available discussions of the romantic attempt to animate the discouraging universe which had been Locke's legacy to the eighteenth century.

THE PRE-RAPHAELITE TRAGEDY. By William Gaunt. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

No one admires Pre-Raphaelite art any more, but after reading Mr. Gaunt's book it is impossible not to admire the Pre-Raphaelites themselves. Sometimes silly—though not in the greenery-gallery way of "Patience"—and often mad, they were nevertheless tough, persistent, and more than a little touched with heroism. If in nothing else, they were justified in William Morris, who is probably the most impressive of the many personalities with which this book deals. Morris was of the second generation of the Pre-Raphaelites—it is one of Mr. Gaunt's virtues that he so carefully distinguishes the generations—and he eventually moved beyond their early tenets, first to industrial design, then to socialism; yet in seeming to deny their ideas he affirmed them, and his socialism was but the generalization of Rossetti's belief that everyone should be an artist. "Art," said Morris, "is

the expression of pleasure in labor," and if it is not a good definition of art, it is an admirable definition of a socialist ideal. But although Morris is for us the most satisfying figure of the movement, we cannot miss the impressiveness of Rossetti himself or fail to find something wryly fine in Holman Hunt's mulish devotion to his strange, self-torturing ideas. Nor is there less charm in such of the Pre-Raphaelites as managed to do themselves well in a post-Raphaelite world—in Millais, who made a huge fortune out of his art, who painted the famous Pear's Soap advertisement "Bubbles," whose elaborate establishment brought forth from Carlyle the remark, "Has paint done all this, Mr. Millais? It only shows how many fools there are in the world," and who had so much happiness, for a time, that one almost rejoices in the vulgarity of the art that gave it to him; or in the sweet-tempered Burne-Jones, who so prettified the brotherhood's mannerisms, who was so bad an artist but so pleasant a person. Mr. Gaunt's book begins in a vein of rather ironic superiority, but as it proceeds it takes on gravity from some quality in the Pre-Raphaelites themselves—the quality, perhaps, that justifies Mr. Gaunt in calling their story a tragedy.

FREEDOM FOR ITALY. By Gaspare and Franco Nicotri. With a Foreword by Carlo Sforza. Italian American Press. \$1.25.

Gaspare Nicotri, a veteran of many a struggle, writes with his son a series of sketches about the century-old Italian battle for freedom. From the Sicilian Vespers in the thirteenth century up to the "Saga of the Thousands" in the Risorgimento, and forward to the Garibaldi Battalion which fought for Greek liberty in 1897 (in its ranks was Nicotri, Sr., himself), the main landmarks are portrayed with vivid casualness. It is a popular book, whose timeliness should not be overlooked by Italian-Americans in search of the "real Italy." All the chapters burn with a filial love for the "land of prodigies" and with expectation of a last battle to come: since, as Count Sforza reminds us in his foreword, "what has been might be again."

THE CHINESE ROOM. By Vivian Connell. The Dial Press. \$2.50.

A young Irish playwright writes a curious hodge-podge of a novel, part psychological thriller, part passionate indictment of modern English life, and

large part sheer nonsense. A statement of Mr. Connell's theme indicates the germ of a possibly interesting idea: a rich young banker undertakes to experiment on his mind by writing anonymous letters to himself, but before he can get started on this dim project he begins to receive anonymous letters from someone else; in the meantime his unhappy wife, always unsatisfied in her marriage and increasingly estranged from her husband in this period of his exacerbated self-interest, takes a series of lovers and discovers the therapy of a healthy sexual life. But the novel Mr. Connell has written is inept and absurd, and even his main thesis—his serious conviction that most of the ills of modern life could be solved by the release of our sexual inhibitions—is irretrievably lost in the welter of his combined mystery story and amateur psychiatry. If only because of the prurience of its sexual detail, a novel that might have been in the line of, say, D. H. Lawrence's "Lady Chatterley's Lover" turns out to be in the line of adolescent reverie.

TACEY CROMWELL. By Conrad Richter. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.

Mr. Richter's Wild West prostitute has the usual warm heart we have learned about from Marlene Dietrich; there is even the familiar contrast between the prostitute's stern moral convictions and the weakness of the respectable religious lady against whom she is pitted. The best parts of Mr. Richter's book—and they are quite good—are those that deal with Arizona life in the old territorial days. Successful local color, however, cannot compensate for a novel so cinematically conceived, so without realization of its characters or development of its theme.

O. HENRY MEMORIAL AWARD PRIZE STORIES OF 1942. Edited by Herschel Brickell. Doubleday, Doran and Company. \$2.50.

Rather better than the O'Brien volume of short stories, the O. Henry collection, taken more than one or two stories at a time, still makes unsatisfying reading. The stories are technically competent but essentially bare of the flesh of fiction; in the contemporary manner, they are too naked a statement of the single perception or observation that inspired their writing—as if a composer were to offer as the whole of a musical composition the undeveloped statement of his themes. This year Mr. Brickell and his judges have awarded first prize to

Eudora Welty for *The Wide Net* (*Harper's*), second prize to Wallace Stegner for *Two Rivers* (the *Atlantic Monthly*), and third prize to Wilbur Schramm for *Windwagon Smith* (the *Atlantic Monthly*). From the *Atlantic Monthly*, too, comes the story that wins an award for the best first-published story, *A Long Way to Go* by Jeanne E. Wylie. The table of contents further includes such writers as Kay Boyle, William Faulkner, Carson McCullers, Jerome Weidman, and John Steinbeck, assuring the public that it is being given what it has itself been calling the best.

THE SOUND OF AN AMERICAN.

By David Ormsbee. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$2.50.

The vulgarity of Mr. Ormsbee's novel and its pretentiousness are matched only by the claims its publishers make for this shabby performance. The hero is an American music critic named Abner Coe—a phony if ever there was one—who gets caught up by the French army and witnesses the fall of France; the story's two main themes are Coe's almost undying love for a young pianist and his ever-increasing passion for the U. S. A. When love deserts him, Coe joins the American army. It is a book full of emotions and attitudes, not to mention appetites, synthesized out of Wolfe, Hemingway, Elliot Paul, and James Cain, paraded as original energy and used to pass off as strong feeling what is no more than sentimental street-corner patriotism.

MAN'S MOST DANGEROUS MYTH:

THE FALLACY OF RACE. By M. F. Ashley Montagu. With a Foreword by Aldous Huxley. Columbia University Press. \$2.25.

A distinguished anthropologist here attacks the anthropological as well as the popular conception of "race," which he shows to be meaningless in any scientific sense. It is a fiction developed as a rationalization of the desire to act aggressively. Its relations to culture, war, and democracy are intelligently and suggestively summarized, and the moral is pointed.

THE NAZI CONQUEST OF DANZIG.

By Hans L. Leonhardt. The University of Chicago Press. \$3.50.

This true story of the Free City of Danzig begins in the first century of the Christian period, but it becomes most interesting at what might be called the city's second birth, under Articles 100 to 109 of the Treaty of Versailles. The

book's greatest value lies in the light it throws on problems of post-war reconstruction. It could serve almost as a textbook for mistakes which should not be repeated, for splendid ideas not carried out, for the ineffectiveness of mere good-will. It is brimful of facts and explanation, carefully selected and precisely put together. The reader is able to see not only how it happened but how it could happen again. "The first responsibility for Danzig's total loss of freedom lies with Hitlerite Germany . . .," but the "principal villains of the play" are Herr Förster, Herr Greiser, M. Beck, Mr. Eden, and Mr. Burckhardt—in short, Poland, the League of Nations, the whole outside world with its attitude: "Why die for Danzig?" The example of Danzig stands as a great indictment of reconstruction without understanding. Everyone concerned with the next peace conference should read this book.

PROLOGUE TO APPEASEMENT. A STUDY IN FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY.

By Elizabeth R. Cameron. American Council on Public Affairs. \$3.50.

This careful factual study approaches the problem—in the words of one of the chapter headings—with the nexus of domestic and foreign policy in mind. Fully annotated and with a bibliography of source material, it will be valuable as a starting-point for students. The conclusion is the now obvious one: "In the course of the first years of the Nazi regime, even before the German remilitarization of the Rhine, certain forces in French policy had already set the pattern which led to collapse under the military onslaught of 1940."

RECENTLY PUBLISHED

Pacific Charter: Our Destiny in Asia. By Hallett Abend. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.50.

The Pocket Book of Dog Stories. Edited by Harold Berman. Pocket Books. 25 cents.

The Lady Means Business: How to Reach the Top in the Business World—the Career Woman's Own Machiavelli. By Aimee Buchanan. Simon and Schuster. \$2.50.

Development of Collective Enterprise: Dynamics of an Emergent Economy. By Seba Eldridge and Associates. Kansas. \$4.50.

Plans for World Peace Through Six Centuries. By Sylvester John Hemleben. Chicago. \$2.50.

Art and Freedom. By Horace M. Kallen. Duell, Sloan, and Pearce. 2 vols. \$6.50.

English Usage: A Study in Policy and Procedure. By Arthur G. Kennedy. Appleton-Century. \$1.25.

Slaves Need No Leaders: An Answer to the Fascist Challenge to Education. By Walter M. Kotschnig. Oxford. \$2.75.

The Discovery of Freedom: Man's Struggle Against Authority. By Rose Wilder Lane. John Day. \$2.50.

Siberia. By Emil Lengyel. Random House. \$3.75.

Above Suspicion. By Helen MacInnes. Pocket Books. 25 cents.

Listen, Germany! Twenty-five Radio Messages to the German People Over B. B. C. By Thomas Mann. Knopf. \$1.50.

The Standard of Living in 1860: American Consumption Levels on the Eve of the Civil War. By Edgar W. Martin. Chicago. \$4.50.

Italy from Within. By Richard G. Massock. Macmillan. \$3.

Easy Malay Words and Phrases. By Marius A. Mendlesen. John Day. \$1.

Experiencing American Pictures. By Ralph M. Pearson. Harper. \$3.75.

A Latin American Speaks. By Luis Quintanilla. Macmillan. \$2.50.

Syrian Yankee. By Salom Rizk. Doubleday, Doran. \$2.75.

I Saw the Fall of the Philippines. By Colonel Carlos P. Romulo. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.

John Paradiise and Lucy Ludwell of London and Williamsburg. By Archibald Bolling Shepperson. Dietz Press. \$4.

Make This the Last War: The Future of the United Nations. By Michael Straight. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.

The Russians: The Land, the People, and Why They Fight. By Albert Rhys Williams. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.

ART

HANANIAH HARARI: Oils. At the Pinacotheca, until January 16.

HARARI, just thirty, is one of the most promising abstract painters in the country. There is the strength and originality of his color, or rather of its tonality; there is his liveliness. But in order to attain virtues, and precisely as a manifestation of his vitality, Harari has to dare to sin—grievously. He fools around with Harnett's style of *trompe l'oeil*, with Stalinoid "class consciousness" and other nonsense. He plays with all sorts of rash notions, mixing together formal elements such as no artist living or dead could organize, and the combination of which simply violates the laws of pleasurable vision. Some of Harari's paintings are frightful. One, dealing with fascism, sinks to a comic strip; another, called "Rococo," shows what—I am told—is the degeneration of capitalism by means of arabesques, scroll work, floral curlicues, and the halftones and sickly-dark

colors of Victorian wallpaper. It may be a joke, but it is too expensive.

Harari exposes himself turn by turn to the influences of Picasso, Miró, Klee, and others. He is ready to be anything—apparently on a moment's notice. But this dashing about, the facing in many directions at once, is a sign among other things of a tremendous energy. Harari is vulgar but seldom banal. Underneath is a talent sensuous and powerful, able in certain pictures to order things to its own unique purposes. At his best Harari continues in the line of post-cubism, is two-dimensional and abstract. In "Figurations" and "Green and Pink" flat patterns of tan, pink, and cream—which with brown are the artist's most successful colors—are used to make paintings as rich as any done by an American lately. "Autumn Tonality" and one or two others are more original but not quite as finished. In these Harari tries to relieve the flatness of the two-dimensional by tonal harmonies. He has something new to say in this vein, and it is probably his most sincere and important one. The work marked by Klee's influence is also successful within the limits of the derivative.

Harari has many strings to his bow and plucks them one after another with an erratic abruptness that is the effect either of indecision or of Picasso's misunderstood example. It is to be hoped that he will settle down and proceed consecutively in the direction which, as he himself ought to realize by now, is his most serious one—the flat abstraction. It will contain all his emotion and his desires for variety, let him have no fear about that. Meanwhile, he has had his fun.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

MUSIC

TWO women have written me that their husbands, in camp in Louisiana and Kentucky, suffer keenly from their complete inability to hear the serious music they were accustomed to hear in their leisure time in the concert hall or from their radios and phonographs. There are minorities of such men in most of the places where training is going on; and one thing they can do is to try to obtain for their camp one of the record-libraries that are being assembled and sent out by Armed Forces Master Records, Inc., Room 215, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York. This organization will send the library only when it is informed that the special

service officer of the camp is willing to accept it and to provide a room with a phonograph where those who are interested will be able to hear Beethoven without conflict with those who want to hear Glen Miller. The first step, then, is to speak to the special service officer.

That is about as much as the men in the camps can do for themselves. In addition, people in towns near camps can help by making their records available—either by lending them to the camp, or by playing them for the men in their homes or in larger auditoriums. Here too, and indeed in all instances, the co-operation of the special service officer must be secured. Regular concerts of recorded music are best arranged by a group of people who pool their records for the purpose; and such a group can raise funds for the purchase of records that will be played at the concerts or be given to the camp.

Moreover, since Armed Forces Master Records will not for a long time be able to take care of all the camps, hospitals, and other military centers here and abroad, there is room for additional organizations to supplement its work and incidentally to improve on it. For example, instead of sending an entire library an organization might send out a succession of two-hour programs; and it might try to work out the machinery for the circulation of these programs among a number of camps in one region. And it might make a better selection of music. The work, after all, is not being done for the majority who are amply provided with the music they like; it is being done, supposedly, for the minority who are not getting the Bach, Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, Brahms, Strauss, Debussy, Stravinsky, and Prokofiev they used to hear in Carnegie Hall or Symphony Hall or the Academy of Music—the music they used to hear and want desperately to hear now because it means a great deal to them. Yet when an organization like Armed Forces Master Records gets down to making its list for these men who are hungry for Beethoven, it almost inevitably is deflected by a concern about the men who may not be interested in Beethoven, and puts in things which will lure these men to the phonograph (but will drive the men interested in Beethoven away); when it makes a list for the minority it includes things which are "in demand," presumably by large numbers. And the result is a library which includes both Beethoven and things like Kern's "Showboat" Synthesis, Victor Herbert, Ferde Grofe, Sarasate's

"Zigeunerweisen," Saint-Saëns's "Danse Macabre" and "Bacchanale," Grieg's "Peer Gyn" Suite and Piano Concerto, Sibelius's "Finlandia," Ravel's "Bolero," Tchaikovsky's Overture "1812" and "Marche Slave," Bruch's "Kol Nidrei," Vieuxtemps's and Wieniawski's Violin Concertos, Prokofiev's "Peter and the Wolf" instead of his Violin Concerto No. 1 or "Classical Symphony," etc. The library does include Beethoven and others like him, and I am glad that Armed Forces Master Records is doing what it is doing; but there is room for other organizations, which I hope will concern themselves solely with the men who would like to hear a program consisting of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 4, Schubert's Trio Op. 99, and Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1, or Beethoven's Symphony No. 8, Schumann's "Dichterliebe" song-cycle, Mozart's "Hunt" Quartet, and Stravinsky's "Petrouchka," and which will give this music to these men.

AFMR itself wants other groups to do this work, and offers to help them by placing at their disposal the experience it has acquired in selecting, buying, and shipping records, in dealing with special service officers, and so on. If any such groups prefer to follow my ideas about a record-library or a series of programs I will be glad to help with specific suggestions; also, any records that may be difficult to obtain in Louisiana or Kentucky nowadays I will be glad to try to obtain in New York.

Individuals who want to help the work of getting records to the men in service can do so by contributing good records or money to AFMR; and *The Nation* is willing to receive money for other groups that make themselves known to it.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Escape to Switzerland

[The following letter arrived here recently from Switzerland. The writer is a Dutch Jew who had been living in France with his family since 1934. When the wholesale persecution of Jews in southern France began in the fall of 1942, he and his wife and daughter and seven-year-old son were arrested and sent to a concentration camp to await deportation. Through the efforts of refugee organizations, which stressed the fact that the family was of Dutch nationality and therefore not subject to deportation, they were temporarily released. Thereupon they decided to escape to Switzerland. They are at present proteges of the International Rescue and Relief Committee.]

... After our dramatic arrest there was no more peace for us, especially since we knew that ours was only a provisional release, and that next time the Dutch would get the same treatment as others—you probably know that in most cases parents and children are torn apart with little hope of ever finding each other again. ... With the aid of false passports which enabled us to travel in France, we reached a little frontier town where some people who had been recommended to us as friends guided us through the mountains to the Swiss border. Loaded down with heavy packs we climbed for five hours and then took leave of our friends. We followed the route which they had pointed out to us but soon were hopelessly lost in mountains 6,000 feet high. Sliding, tumbling, our clothes torn and our skins bruised, we continued in the direction of the valley we hoped to reach. R— [the writer's wife] suffers from vertigo on a second-story balcony, and V— [their seven-year-old son] had to be helped along; so you can imagine we made slow progress. After several hours of hard climbing we found ourselves on a tiny plateau overlooking a 2,300-meter drop straight down, a veritable cul-de-sac offering no way of going on or going back. Far below us we could see a group of small chalets, and we began to call for help and signal with our handkerchiefs and shirts. By this time it was seven in the evening. After a long time we were seen, and the villagers shouted that they would come to help us.

We set about making ourselves as comfortable as was possible on this small shelf, but it was too slanting for all of us to go to sleep; we had to hold V—, wrapped up in his cape, on our knees. Toward 9 p. m. a little avalanche of stones heralded the arrival of a rescue party, which had reached a point a few score meters above us. Seeing that the party included two women and a child, they realized at once that we were stuck for the night on our precarious perch, for they had no lights and we had no proper mountain equipment for scaling the cliff that separated them from us. Even though a glimpse of them was enough to revive our courage, I find it hard to describe the hours that followed. It was bitterly cold; we had no blankets, no more matches, nothing to eat or drink. Sleep was impossible, for there was always the possibility of sliding off into the abyss.

Toward 7:30 in the morning the rescue party reappeared, armed with ropes. Now began the ghastly climb back. Exhausted and cramped, we had to retrace our steps to the point where our friends had originally left us and then take off again in a totally different direction toward the valley. We arrived at the first house about 1:30 that afternoon. Our rescuers had coffee, bread, butter, meat—a splendid repast—awaiting us, but we were so worn out that we could scarcely manage to swallow any food. Only after several hours of sleep were we in shape to begin tending our multiple scratches and repairing our torn clothes. (I shall always keep the trousers I wore as a souvenir of the trip. The seat of them looks exactly like a strainer!) At five that afternoon we set out again, for we had two and a half hours of traveling before us to reach the first small city. ...

When we finally arrived at Geneva we were met by Madame R—, who took us to the Dutch consulate. The police were informed at once and arrived an hour later to take us to an internment camp. There we spent the night and after a brief but friendly interrogation were set at liberty. The R's have found a pretty little pension for us. We are not permitted to move without authorization from the military police, but we may travel within the Geneva canton. The Dutch consulate is paying our expenses. ...

Unifying Africa

Dear Sirs: As the day of the complete liberation of Africa draws near, we in this country should begin to consider now the problems of reconstruction, the aspects of the new world we expect to build on the ruins of that narrow-minded and intolerant nationalism which has always obstructed the peaceful cooperation of nations. Let us view the first dim outlines of a unified Africa.

The whole African continent, except two large and some smaller Portuguese and Spanish colonies, Egypt, and Liberia, consists of units which are members of the United Nations. It is a vast territory of little-developed economic resources, a continent bearing no scars of boundaries or battlefields such as mark the nations of old Europe and Asia. The motley of colors on our maps of Africa was mixed and printed by imperialistic artists in European diplomatic offices and does not derive from African geography or the distribution of its population. The only dividing element is the wide range of civilization, culture, and language from the Egyptians to the pigmies of the Congo and from the South Africans to the Arabs in the north.

Africa should be the first and ideal testing-ground for the aims of the Atlantic Charter, which promises all nations "access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." Why could Africa not be the first step toward "the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment, and social security"? Should the experiment be successful it might be followed by the unification of the globe, which has shrunk to five continents from an agglomeration of a hundred nations.

Why can we not undertake the task now while we are united in the great effort to subdue the evil which would have turned back history a thousand years? And why not try to do it in a business-like way? Let economy and common sense go first for once and politics come later. Let us consider the United Nations as a corporation which has purchased the majority of shares of the nine different "companies" inter-

ested in African production and trade. Each company had different ways and means of carrying on the same type of business; all were in competition and could not get together for large transactions by which they would have all profited. What does our corporation do? If it cannot force a merger, it will institute a holding company with a directive council which will go about methodically to iron out the differences, unify the business methods, eliminate competition, and undertake the greater projects under its own auspices with the cooperation of all.

Following this pattern, the "shareholders in Africa" should form an Economic Council in which all nations having colonies in Africa and the self-governed states of the Union of South Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Liberia would be represented in proportion to their economic importance. This importance could be measured by the value of their foreign trade in the last decade. The Economic Council would function much as the League of Nations did but would not require unanimous decisions. Its first task would be to eliminate all economic boundaries by instituting a common currency—possibly the English pound—and abolishing all tariffs and embargoes. The Council might levy a federal tax on corporations and port facilities for the purpose of building up communications, such as roads, railroads, shipping, air lines, and harbors. The federal police power would rest with the United Nations.

All these undertakings would infringe but little on the political constitution of the continent. South Africa would retain its dominion status and other countries their independence. Certainly all countries of Africa would be glad to sacrifice a small margin of their economic independence to secure the advantages of economic unity on a territory many times that of the United States. The abolition of tariffs would speed the development of Africa as a whole, and differences between "have nots" and colonial powers would come to an end.

the United Nations would determine whether the economic unity should be followed by a pooling of colonies on a political basis. Questions of local importance would be handled somewhat as they are in the United States.

We should not underestimate the effect such a proof of the sincerity of our war aims would have on the Axis. After World War I the Germans considered themselves deceived when the United

States disavowed its own child—the League and the Fourteen Points. The Atlantic Charter will now impress them only if they can see that it extends to them the hope of becoming a member of the great Union of Mankind. Such realization would ease the way for ultimate acceptance of peace as we understand it.

PAUL STRASSER

Winnetka, Ill., December 28

John C. Wiley

Dear Sirs: An article entitled Fighting the Fighting French, by your Washington correspondent, I. F. Stone, in *The Nation* of November 28 contained the following reference:

The Office of Strategic Services, which seems to do much of the army's political thinking, is as mixed in its composition as its chief, William J. Donovan, is in his thinking. There are many good things, from the progressive point of view, to be said about both the OSS and Donovan, but there is also much that is disturbing. The OSS has acquired some of our most moth-eaten diplomats.

Among those diplomats Mr. Stone mentions "John Wiley, who was Bullitt's First Secretary in Moscow. These men inspire only misgivings in the European underground."

I have been a reader of *The Nation*, as well as a friend of Mr. Wiley, for a long time. When I read the above I therefore could not help remembering an earlier comment on him which appeared after the *Anschluss*, in *The Nation* of May 7, 1938, from the pen of Oswald Garrison Villard. Mr. Villard wrote:

In the horror of what has happened in Austria there is one bright spot, and that is the admirable conduct of our American diplomatic officials there. Every American has a right to be proud of the courage and humanity displayed by all of them, notably by the chargé d'affaires, John C. Wiley. It is reported that the minister of another great democracy promptly bolted when the Germans marched in and left his legation to his subordinates. As we had no minister in the time, the whole burden fell upon Mr. Wiley.

One of the most experienced of our younger diplomats, he refused to be bound by red tape or purely nationalistic restrictions, and as a result he did an enormous amount of good, saved many unfortunates, I am sure, and ameliorated the lot of many others. He was not overawed by the Nazis or afraid of them, and that is just the right attitude to take toward these brutal bluffers. He and his small staff have been simply overwhelmed by the thousands of poor Jews, and Gentiles too, who have sought to get visas to come to the

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United States. I wish there were some way of giving men who do work of this type a distinguished-service medal. Mr. Wiley has certainly earned it.

If Mr. Wiley deserved a medal in 1938, can he have become "moth-eaten" by 1942?

One is tempted to inquire just what constitutes "the European underground" in which Mr. Wiley "can inspire only misgivings." He certainly inspires none among Americans who know of his career at first hand.

HENRY SUYDAM

South Orange, N. J., December 26

The Negro in the Army

Dear Sirs: Joseph Julian's *Jim Crow Goes Abroad* (*The Nation* of December 5) is valuable as evidence of the treatment of Negroes during the war, but as a discussion of the problem of the Negro in the armed services it is naive.

"Some kind of educational program designed to eradicate the color bias by driving home to white soldiers how silly it is to talk about fighting for democracy when they don't mix with colored troops in their own ranks," as Mr. Julian proposes, would be a futile effort indeed and would do more harm than good.

There are a tremendous number of men in the army, particularly from the South, upon whom all the talk in the world about the color bias would make no impression. These men have grown up in the well-rooted culture of the South. That their prejudices against the Negro is extreme is a natural consequence of the historical background of their section. This fact cannot possibly be ignored in any effort to deal with the problem.

Mr. Julian objects to what appears to him to be the official policy of the army: "Keep them apart—as far apart as possible." The army has before it a large part of the task of winning the war. It has been the experience of the army that trouble—often in the form of violence—results when Negro soldiers are allowed or encouraged to mix with white. Such trouble can seriously impair the efforts of military personnel to train the men. Actual riots, and they have occurred, have a demoralizing effect upon all the men. Segregation, therefore, is an expedient resorted to in the face of necessity. This necessity cannot be obliterated by the stardust of crusading idealism.

It is, of course, disheartening to the Negro soldier to be segregated while

being forced to fight for the white man's freedom. In the face of this he has been magnificent. He is so much more capable of a philosophical attitude than the whites that the whites are discredited by the evidence of it. Any effort in the direction urged by Mr. Julian can only hurt him.

ELLIOTT M. MILLER

Great Falls, Montana, December 30

Congratulations to Mr. Taper

Dear Sirs: When I read Bernard Taper's article, *Life with Kaiser*, in the December 12 issue of *The Nation*, I took my hat off to him. You see, I too worked in a defense plant, a shop in which thousands of airplane bombs are produced daily, the A. O. Smith Corporation in Milwaukee. I was a newspaperman whose paper, the *Milwaukee Post*, folded, and I decided to go to work at anything that would help us defeat the enemy. I was given a job, made good in a fashion, but found after three months I just could not take it. The result was I spent five weeks in a veterans' hospital. I suspect Mr. Taper is younger than I, and therefore better equipped physically and mentally to stand up against the noise, heat, steam, gas, and monotony of manual labor.

From my experience, I know there are thousands of other newspapermen, dentists, barbers, and lawyers working on production lines or acting as inspectors in a factory. I was not surprised to read in Mr. Taper's articles that former ballet dancers were working as riggers. But the fact remains that they are for the most part working under a great strain and are perhaps contributing more than their share to victory. With the white-collar worker willing to go into a factory and do his bit the hard way, I am confident the United Nations will win.

In conclusion, once more congratulations to Mr. Taper, who was able to do arduous labor and at the same time observe keenly and write an interesting, informative article about his work.

ARTHUR P. WIESNER

Milwaukee, Wis., December

A Mysterious Influence

Dear Sirs: Why the State Department's tender solicitude for Franco during the Spanish civil war? Why are we continuing our help to Franco? Why the invitation to Otto of Hapsburg to head an army for the United Nations cause?

The Catholic church was naturally determined that Franco should win the Spanish civil war, and it is equally de-

termined that the status quo in Spain be maintained. Is this the mysterious influence at work in our State Department? Is Myron Taylor serving our interests at the Vatican, or is he, a layman, consciously or otherwise, carrying out the wishes of the spiritual head of his church? The church is naturally and rightfully interested in its own preservation and cannot be blamed for guarding its own interests. However, where these interests run counter to the best interests of democracy and national policy, the church's influence must be exposed and curbed.

DOLPH SWENSON

Berkeley, Cal., December 29

CONTRIBUTORS

ADOLF F. STURMTHAL is director of the Institute for Economic Education of Bard College, Columbia University.

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN, now on leave from his congregation in Rochester, is executive director of the Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities of the Jewish Welfare Board.

AGNES E. BENEDICT is the author of "Progress to Freedom: The Story of American Education."

HANS ERNEST FRIED, author of "The Guilt of the German Army," is in the Department of Government of the College of the City of New York.

DIANA TRILLING reviews fiction regularly for *The Nation*.

ALBERT GUERARD, author of "The France of Tomorrow," published in 1927 "The Future of Paris: A Book on City Planning."

DELMORE SCHWARTZ is the author of "In Dreams Begin Responsibilities," "Shenandoah," and other books of verse.

BETSY HUTCHISON visited Germany frequently during the period of the Weimar Republic.

and critic now living in New York. A volume of his "Selected Poems" was published here last year.

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